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Tap Chi Cong San

No. 7, July 1982

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29 September 1982

## VIETNAM REPORT

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TAP CHI CONG SAN, No. 7 July, 1982

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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**EDITORIAL: "CARRY OUT WELL THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ON THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE FIFTH PARTY CONGRESS"**

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 1-4

[Capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The Fifth VCP National Congress has reviewed the actual situation of our nation's revolution and set forth strategic tasks for the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage. The congress has determined tasks, orientations and targets, especially economic and social targets for the period 1981-85 and the 1980's. The congress has adopted policies and measures aimed at bolstering the party's fighting strength, the state's management capability and the workers' role in collective mastery. The congress documents are of great theoretical and practical significance and illuminate the way for the entire party, people and armed forces to score new achievements in the cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

Organizing discussion of the party documents for the entire party to grasp and implement the VCP congress resolutions is a very important task. The political report of the VCP Central Committee at the congress states: "After the Fifth VCP Congress A POLITICAL EDUCATION DRIVE will be carried out profoundly throughout the party using the discussion of the party congress resolutions as a means of educating party cadres and members on the party's line and policy. Serious criticism and self-criticism will also be conducted to criticize erroneous thoughts and enhance the revolutionary impetus and sense of responsibility of the VCP members in the new situation and task." (Footnote: political report at the Fifth VCP Congress, TAP CHI CONG SAN, issue No 4, 1982, p 84).

Implementing the resolutions of the national party congress, the VCP Central Committee Secretariat has decided to CARRY OUT A POLITICAL ACTIVITY DRIVE WHICH IS AIMED AT ENABLING ALL PARTY CADRES AND MEMBERS TO UNDERSTAND PROFOUNDLY THE CONTENTS OF THE VARIOUS DOCUMENTS OF THE CONGRESS AND DISCUSS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS RESOLUTIONS.

The VCP Central Committee Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers have further concretized the party national congress resolutions by implementing them in decisions of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau and those of the Council of Ministers, especially decisions on urgent and immediate tasks. Tasks concerning the study and implementation of the Fifth VCP Congress resolutions must be associated with those concerning the study and implementation of the decisions of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers. This political activity drive is aimed at meeting the following REQUIREMENTS:

-- To enable the party cadres and members, particularly the leading and managerial cadres in various echelons and sectors, to formulate uniform views and reach high unanimity on the basic contents of the documents; to firmly grasp the spirit of the decisions of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers; and to criticize the erroneous views which run counter to the party's lines and policies.

-- On this basis, to review in depth the situation of the movement in localities, sectors and grassroots units and review the leadership activities of the party organizations in these places; to draw experience from the movement; and to strengthen solidarity and heighten the revolutionary offensive spirit, the sense of responsibility and work ability of party cadres and members.

-- To map out realistic programs of action for localities, sectors and grassroots units with effective measures for resolving urgent and immediate socioeconomic problems, successfully implementing the resolutions of the party congress and the decisions of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers and overcoming mistakes and shortcomings at all costs.

The study of the party documents during this political activity phase is not similar to the discussion of draft documents during the previous first-round congresses of party organizations at various levels. In these first-round congresses, party members and delegates discussed draft documents with a view to contributing ideas for the formulation of documents to be presented at the party's national congress. At that time, party members and delegates had the right to make suggestions or amendments to the contents of draft documents in accordance with their knowledge in order to contribute positively to the common tasks of the party. These draft documents, after being discussed, amended and unanimously passed by the party's national congress, have become congress resolutions. The party's national congress of delegates is its highest leading organ. Its resolutions must be thoroughly understood and seriously implemented by the entire party. Every party cadre and member must speak and act in accordance with the spirit of the resolutions of the congress. This question pertains to the party's organizational principle.

This political activity drive is aimed at enabling party cadres and members to hold uniform views and reach a high unanimity of views on the basic contents of the documents. Therefore, efforts must be made to understand the contents of the documents clearly and to discuss further the various problems which were not discussed extensively at the first-round congresses, as well as problems and views relating to the present urgent tasks. Meanwhile, it is necessary to criticize erroneous views which run counter to the party's lines and policies.

We must overcome the tendency to neglect the study of the congress documents and the argument that the contents of these documents were already discussed at the first-round congresses. This tendency is reflected clearly in the perfunctory study of party resolutions. The documents approved by the national party congress contain important changes and amendments to the drafts. Failure to understand the contents of these documents thoroughly will make it impossible for us to correctly organize their implementation.

During this current phase of political activity, discussion should be organized among party cadres and members so that they will firmly grasp the contents of the documents of the congress and its views concerning such matters as the party's lines, the assessment of the present revolutionary situation and the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage.

As for the party's lines, the views of the congress affirm that the general socialist revolutionary line and the line on building the socialist economy set forth by the Fifth VCP Congress are correct. To accelerate socialist construction in our country, party cadres and members and the people must continue to grasp and implement these lines correctly.

As for the assessment of the revolutionary situation, the views of the congress represent a unanimity of views on the victories and achievements which our people have scored over the past years, and on the present actual economic and social situation of our country and the objective and subjective causes of this situation as mentioned in the documents.

As for tasks, the views of the congress reflect a clear understanding of the present two strategic tasks -- successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. They display an understanding that building socialism is the primary task and an awareness of the unyielding struggle against Chinese expansionism and hegemonism, the close association of these two strategic tasks, the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country, the acuteness and complexity of the struggle between us and the enemy and the struggle between socialism and capitalism. They are in unanimity with the four objectives and major economic and social policies and measures -- especially the requirements of socialist industrialization and the question of advancing agriculture a step further toward large-scale production in the immediate future -- as well as with the main tasks of the 1981-85 5-year plan and other urgent economic tasks. They also reflect a firm grasp of the system of party leadership, people's mastery and state management -- a system which has been, significantly, further concretized in the documents of the party congress.

For more than half a century, our party cadres and members have maintained their fine tradition of achieving a high unanimity of views on matters concerning the party's lines and views on domestic and international affairs, and placed their firm confidence in the clear-sighted leadership of the party Central Committee.

However, aside from these basic strengths, a number of party cadres and members, due to their lack of correct and scientific thinking, their inadequate knowledge of the actual multifaceted situation or their wavering in the face of the present shortcomings, obstacles and difficulties, are entertaining views that are opposed to those of the party. Therefore, in this phase of political activity we must, through the study of the party congress documents, enable all party cadres and members to enhance their views, overcome erroneous thoughts and have a high unanimity of views on the basic contents of the documents.

First of all, it is necessary to overcome vague thoughts about the acuteness and complexity of the struggle between us and the enemy and the current struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths in our country.

It is necessary to eliminate the method of perceiving things onesidedly, subjectively and unscientifically, and not from a historical viewpoint. For example, some people see only military, political and diplomatic victories, while underestimating and even denying the economic and cultural achievements which our people have scored in their arduous struggle. They have failed to understand the necessary cause and effect relationship between these victories and achievements or have emphasized only mistakes and shortcomings in leadership and supervision while failing to properly evaluate the objective difficulties in analyzing the cause of the situation.

Localities and establishments are currently preparing for the second-round congresses of party organizations at various levels. This political activity phase must contribute positively to these preparations. On the basis of enhancing the understanding of the contents of the party congress documents and the spirit of the VCP Central Committee Political Bureau's decisions, party cadres and members must contribute their sound ideas to the work review reports and draft programs of action of their party committees and sectors, using them as a basis for preparing reports to be presented at the second-round congresses of party organizations.

In implementing the party congress resolutions, various party committee echelons must not only grasp the spirit of these resolutions, but must also correctly evaluate the actual situation of various aspects of their sectors, localities and units. They must extensively review strengths and weaknesses in their leadership and supervision over the implementation of the party's lines and resolutions in the past months. On this basis, they must positively and steadily formulate programs of action in order to, first of all, fulfill the 1982 state plan satisfactorily.

To implement the resolutions of the party congress, there must be a marked improvement in the qualities and capabilities of party cadres and members. Only when they strive to enhance their qualities and abilities and are determined to overcome their shortcomings and weaknesses will they be able to contribute positively to the implementation of the resolutions of the party, their sectors, their localities and their units. This political activity phase, in association with the review of the distribution of party membership cards, must be instrumental in improving the party cadres' and members' qualities and abilities.

In this political activity phase, all party cadres and members must use resolutions of the party congress as a guide for scrupulously reviewing their tasks over the past 5 years and carry out serious self-criticism in order to improve their revolutionary qualities and work abilities. The review of past tasks must be centered on -- as specified in a directive of the party Central Committee Secretariat -- awareness of current events and the party's lines and policies; the implementation of major tasks over the past 5 years; and the improvement of revolutionary qualities according to the requirements specified in the party political report. On the one hand, each party cadre and member must think and prepare carefully for the serious and realistic review of their tasks according to these requirements; in particular, leading and managerial cadres must set an example in this matter. On the other hand, party organizations must make party cadres and members aware of their mistakes and shortcomings and help them to have correct views and the determination to strive to meet the requirements of the revolutionary tasks in the new stage. In general, self-criticism and criticism by party cadres and members will be conducted in party chapters in close association with the review of the party membership card issuance and the holding of congresses of grassroots-level party organizations. The ideas, criticisms and remarks of the masses may be collected if they are needed. As for cadres involved in the preparations for the second-round congresses of all-level party organizations, they must carry out self-criticism under the supervision of party committee echelons.

The resolutions of the Fifth VCP Congress are the light to illuminate the way for the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage. To turn these resolutions into reality, party cadres and members must firmly grasp the basic contents of these resolutions. The current political activity phase is aimed at helping the entire party to understand thoroughly the contents of the documents of the congress and discuss their implementation. It is of great significance in that it contributes to strengthening the solidarity and single-mindedness within the party on the basis of the party's revolutionary lines and views. In association with party membership card issuance and the holding of the second-round congresses of all-level party organizations, it helps to increase the party's fighting strength and create conditions for the party to fulfill its role as a vanguard party of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage. All party committee echelons and party cadres and members must be fully aware of the significance of this political activity phase and strive to make it a splendid success.

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TRUONG CHINA ADDRESS AT HANOI VOTERS' MEETING ON 1 JULY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 5-7

[Capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] DEAR COMRADES AND COMPATRIOTS: The Third Session of the Seventh National Assembly has concluded with great success. At this session, the National Assembly examined the following issues:

- The establishment of our criminal law code.
- The work of the Supreme People's Court and the Supreme People's Organ of Control.
- The draft 1982 state budget.
- The new national anthem.
- The byelections of members of the Council of State and chairmen of National Assembly standing committees.

The most important point of the session, however, was to EXAMINE THE DRAFT 1982 STATE BUDGET. After listening to reports on this issue and heated discussions of it, the National Assembly issued a resolution approving the draft 1982 state budget presented by the Council of Ministers. The National Assembly also entrusted the Council of Ministers with the task of providing close guidance for all sectors, echelons and grassroots units so that they can fulfill or overfulfill all the targets of the 1982 state plan and state budget already approved by it.

The draft state budget constitutes an important part of the state plan. Therefore, the guidelines for the successful implementation of the 1982 state plan are closely linked with all the current important and urgent tasks on the economic front. On this occasion, I would like to tell you very briefly about the guidelines for the implementation of our state budget and financial policy, which have recently been discussed by the National Assembly.

These guidelines call for our efforts to increase the sources of income in support of the state budget while paring down unreasonable or still unnecessary expenditures in order to ensure that the state is provided with sufficient funds for necessary spending, and gradually surmount overdrafts and achieve a balance between revenue and expenditure. If we want to achieve this objective, it is necessary for us to satisfactorily carry out the following tasks:

- 
- STEP UP PRODUCTION because it is the source of financing. Efforts must be made to successfully fulfill or overfulfill all production plans, especially those involving the important products of the national economy and those products which are necessary for the people or which can ensure substantial income for the state.

Development of production should be carried out along with the effort to improve production efficiency and the quality of products, economize on the use of manpower, materials and capital, and reduce production and circulation costs.

-- MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO PLACE THE SOURCES OF GOODS AND MONEY UNDER STATE CONTROL. All state-operated enterprises must scrupulously implement the systems concerning the delivery of goods and the turnover of various revenue producing items. It is necessary to expand the socialist trade network, step up the collection and purchase of goods, strengthen market management, and struggle resolutely against theft, speculation, smuggling, the production of fake goods, and illegal businesses. It is also necessary to satisfactorily carry out the collection of taxes and debts, ensuring that all industrial, commercial, agricultural and other taxes are collected in accordance with policy.

-- APPLY THE MOTTO THAT THE STATE AND THE PEOPLE WORK TOGETHER, AND THE CENTRAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES WORK TOGETHER in the economic, cultural, educational, artistic, medical, and sports and physical education fields. Strictly practice thrift in production, construction, and daily life.

-- All sectors, echelons and units must CARRY OUT FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT SCRUPULOUSLY UNDER A UNIFIED SYSTEM established by the state.

While the responsibility over these tasks rests heavily on various state organs and enterprises, our workers, peasants handicraft workers, small merchants and citizens should also shoulder an important part of this responsibility by enthusiastically expanding production, practicing thrift, participating in the construction of various central level and local projects, selling products and paying taxes and debts to the state in accordance with the set norms, implementing all the policies concerning market management, and struggling against all manifestations of negativism and violations of policies and law in society.

By satisfactorily carrying out these tasks, we will be able to not only implement the draft 1982 state budget, but also be able to create favorable conditions for new changes in the country's general economic and financial situation.

DEAR COMRADES AND COMPATRIOTS, it is the responsibility of Hanoi -- our capital -- to take the lead among other localities in making new changes in the economic and social fields in the present stage. I hope that the municipal people's council and people's committee will transmit the spirit of the recent National Assembly session to all people in the municipality, and will adopt specific and creative measures to outstandingly carry out all the tasks which have been laid down by the party and the state.

May I heartily wish all of our compatriots in the capital good health so that they can participate enthusiastically in the socialist emulation movement, thus helping to make the 1982 state plan and state budget a success.

Thank you, comrades and compatriots.

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LETTER FROM G. DIMITROV TO MAO ZEDONG ON 22 DECEMBER 1943 CONCERNING THE SITUATION  
WITHIN THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 8-9

[Text] Editorial Note: on 22 December 1943, G. Dimitrov sent to Mao Zedong a letter concerning the situation within the Chinese Communist Party. G. Dimitrov was the general secretary of the Communist International until the Communist International declared its own dissolution in May, 1943. In the letter to Mao Zedong, G. Dimitrov pointed out the mistakes made by Mao Zedong in undermining the Chinese Communist Party, undermining the anti-Japanese national united front in China and provoking anti-Soviet attitudes within the Chinese Communist Party. On the occasion of the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of G. Dimitrov, we have printed his letter to Mao Zedong for our readers to study.

To Mao Zedong (and only Mao Zedong!):

1. As regards your son, I have enrolled him at the Political-Military Academy. When he graduates, he will have a firm knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and modern military matters. He is a competent youth. And, I do not doubt that he will become a competent and trustworthy assistant of yours. Your son sends his regards to you.

2. Concerning matters of a political nature: of course, since the Communist International dissolved itself, no one among the former leaders of this organization can intervene in the internal affairs of the communist parties. However, in the spirit of friendship, I cannot help but inform you of my concerns regarding the situation within the Chinese Communist Party. You know that, since 1935, I have closely observed matters regarding China. On the basis of all that I know, I maintain that the line on narrowing the struggle against the foreign aggressors who are now occupying China as well as the increasingly clear tendency to abandon the policy of the united national front are political mistakes. At a time when the people of China are waging a war of a national nature, such a line threatens to place the party in a position in which it is isolated from the people and can elevate the civil war to a sharp and dangerous level, something which only the occupiers and their lackeys within the nationalist party desire. I think that the accusation that the campaign being waged against Chou En-lai and Vuong

Minh is based on the national front policy set forth by the Communist International and seems, as a result, to be leading the party to division is politically incorrect. Persons such as Chou En-lai and Vuong Minh should not be pushed from the party, rather, they must be retained within the party and every effort must be made to use them in support of the party's cause. I am also concerned by the fact that some party cadres still hold unwholesome attitudes concerning the relationship with the Soviet Union. The role of Khang Sinh also raises doubts in my mind. A correct measure taken by the party, such as purging from the party hostile elements, such as Khang Sinh and his apparatus, and consolidating the party and doing this through odd forms of organization would only cause mutual suspicion and arouse deep indignation within the ranks of the party members, thereby supporting the efforts of the enemy to break up the party. In August of this year, we received an entirely accurate report from Trung Khanh concerning the decision made by the nationalists to send their provocateurs to Dien An for the purpose of causing a quarrel between you and Vuong Minh and the other activists of the party and also for the purpose of creating a hostile attitude toward all persons who have lived and studied in Moscow. I promptly reported this malicious intention of the nationalists to you. The ambition of the nationalists is to break up the communist party from within in order to easily destroy it. I have never doubted that Khang Sinh and his activities are supporting these provocateurs. Pardon me for my forthrightness in the spirit of comradeship. However, my deep respect for you and my firm confidence that, as the leader of a party that everyone recognizes, you are concerned with learning about things in their true perspective permit me to speak so forthrightly. I suggest that you reply to me by the method I used to send this letter to you. Firmly shaking your hand,

D.

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## ON COMBINING THE THREE MEASURES IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 10-16, 23

[Article by Nguyen Van Tran]

[Text] Economic management has been and still is the focus of attention of our party and state in their leadership and guidance. The political report of the party Central Committee to the Fifth National Party Congress pointed out: We must establish a correct system of management and planning, and change the existing management and planning system. It is necessary to do away with the bureaucratic and subsidy-based system of administrative management; overcome at all costs stagnation, conservatism and lack of responsibility; promote zeal for collective mastery; and enhance creative dynamism, the sense of responsibility and the sense of discipline" (see TAP CHI CONG SAN, April 1982 issue, p 48).

To practice economic management is to devise forms and measures for most satisfactorily applying economic laws and effective forms and measures for organizing and coordinating man's activities in the production process and for providing managerial cadres at all levels with the ability to apply satisfactorily the various forms, methods and tools of management.

After setting forth the general orientations for economic management--which, in its broad sense, also includes the establishment of objectives of development, economic structures, production organizations, managerial organizations, planning policies, economic incentive policies, cadre work and specific policies for management--it is very essential and important to select management methods suitable to the characteristics and conditions of each stage and each circumstance of every locality and every economic-technical sector.

Management methods are a combination of measures imposed on the subjects of management to ensure harmonious coordination of their activities for the purpose of achieving the present objectives, and to stimulate the interests of the subjects of management in such a way that they will, out of the interests of the entire society as well as their own interests, pay attention to increasing the effectiveness of their production activities and creating a driving force for developing production. Management methods, in the last analysis, are directed toward man. All collectives, organs, production organizations, enterprises, schools, worksites and so forth--and even society--are people grouped together in a certain form. Therefore, to deal with collectives, organs

and so forth is also to deal with specific, complex and diverse human beings--members of socio-production systems. As a result of this, the methods for dealing with these specific human beings must be greatly diverse. Based on the characteristics of the impact produced on man in the management process and on the nature of managerial activities, management measures are usually classified into three types--economic measures, administrative measures and socio-education measures. These measures are inseparable and must be applied simultaneously. Management activities are reflected first of all in the combined results of the active measures and the means for enforcing them. On the other hand, each type of measures has its own characteristics, is enforced by particular means and can only be applied under certain conditions.

In management, economic measures are designed to stimulate the laboring people with material gains through the application of a system of incentive policies for the purpose of developing production in accordance with the objectives set forth in the plan. Of all management measures, economic measures are the most important. To ensure centralized leadership over the economy, it is necessary to have a system of plan norms. This system of plan norms ensures centralization and uniformity in the implementation of economic tasks, determines and guarantees the optimal rate of economic development, and combines various economic interests. Economic measures must be designed along these lines to influence the material gains of the laboring people with the profit-and-loss accounting system, material incentive policies concerning wages, bonuses, prices and finances, and with other material incentives such as banking privileges, credits and so forth. The application of economic measures allows the subjects of management to select for themselves the forms and ways to solve the problems and achieve the planned objectives.

Profit-and-loss accounting is an important principle of economic management, especially in a country like ours. Lenin pointed out: "In a country with small-scale agriculture, comrades, we must first of all build small but firm bridges across state capitalism to reach socialism not by relying directly on enthusiasm but via the enthusiasm created by the great revolution through the stimulation of personal inspiration and personal interests, and through the application of the principle of profit-and-loss accounting." (Footnote: V.I. Lenin: Discussion About Organization and Management of the Socialist Economy, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 332). Profit-and-loss accounting is at the same time a principle and a method for socialist economic management that closely combines centralized and unified leadership via the state plan with the development of the masses' initiative and creativity through the application of economic laws and economic incentives. In adhering to the principle of profit-and-loss accounting, the state gives production and business establishments the right to financial autonomy and other necessary rights; and in return, requires that production and business establishments fulfill their obligations and responsibilities to the state.

It is necessary to effect monetary control with regard to all production activities of each unit under the economic accounting system. Economic accounting is introduced and developed in accordance with each stage of development of the national economy, with the state's management system for production and business activities in every unit under the economic accounting system, and with the capacity for mastery of these very units. In the years ahead, it is

necessary to place most of the state-run enterprises and those units already prepared for economic accounting under this system in appropriate forms so as to overcome gradually the existing shortcomings in management.

The application of economic measures is always closely linked with the use of economic incentives such as prices, profits, credits, interest rates, state-controlled income, funds for material rewards and so forth, and with the use of economic laws. The better we understand and use economic laws, the more effectively we can apply economic measures. Of the economic laws, the goods-market relationship is very important. For a long time, we either could not use or incorrectly used economic measures to manage the national economy; and this indicated that we either considered lightly or failed to recognize the existence of the goods-money relationship under the socialist system and especially in the transition period to socialism. To say this does not mean that the goods-money relationship only exists in a socialist society and consequently, in the field of management, we need only to stress on the use of economic measures and may even use them exclusively. In fact, we must pay attention to economic measures and continue to promulgate a number of incentive policies in order to boost labor productivity and ensure the integration of the three interests.

While applying economic measures, attention must be given to the decentralization of management and the training of specialized managerial cadres. As everyone knows, the more developed the economy and the greater the division of labor, the more complex the relations in economic life will become and the more complicated it will be to direct the economy. Against this background, it will be difficult to achieve the best results if all economic decisions are made at the central level. On the other hand, the key to using economic measures most satisfactorily under specific circumstances is actually to combine the common economic interests with the economic interests of each basic unit, each enterprise and each person. However, economic interests must be linked with responsibility and authority. Production and business establishments are responsible for the results of their economic activities; and therefore, they must be allowed to decide on matters concerning their responsibility. With the decentralization of authority and responsibility, the various managerial echelons will be able to select the forms and ways for economic development that are most suitable for their specific conditions and circumstances. And this is the characteristic of economic measures. In this spirit, the higher echelons should only decide on issues concerning economic lines, strategies and policies and leave all specific issues of a professional nature in the hands of the lower echelons. Basic units should be allowed to decide on matters directly related to production and business; and they shall be responsible for their decisions before the state.

To vigorously decentralize management and broaden the use of economic measures in management requires that managerial cadres at all levels possess a greater amount of knowledge. With the broad application of administrative measures, the lower-level organs are simply executors of decisions; but here, the lower-level organs are not only the executors but also decisionmakers who are responsible for their decisions. The leaders of lower-level organs must effectively use the authority vested in them in the interest of the society as a whole, of their own organs or enterprises, and of each member of their

own units. They must be proficient in actual organizational work and must firmly grasp such tools as prices, credits, income, material incentive funds and so forth, and use them correctly so as to bring about good results. Lenin said: "We must understand clearly that to carry out good management, apart from the power of persuasion and the ability to win in a civil war, we also need to possess practical organizational skill. This is the most difficult task because the problem is to organize according to new methods, and on the most profound bases, the economic foundation for the lives of tens and tens of millions of people" (Footnote: V.I. Lenin: Discussion About Organization and Management of the Socialist Economy, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 52). Leaders at all levels must be trained and prepared to shoulder this "most difficult" authority and responsibility.

Administrative measures of management: Administrative measures play a special role in the system of management measures because they are imbued with the great significance of the organizational factors for ensuring the effective operation of the economic system at any level.

Administrative measures symbolize the system of administrative impact effected by the managerial organs on the subjects of management. They guarantee the organization, discipline and work performance of the managerial organs. At the same time, they ensure the enforcement of necessary rules in production so that the directives, orders and resolutions of the leading organs will be implemented. These very directives, orders and resolutions have the function of regulating the managerial activities of the economic system. They ensure that the managerial apparatus and all the components of the production system will operate with specific goals, according to plan, in a closely coordinated manner and efficiently.

Unlike economic measures which produce an indirect impact on the subjects of management through the material interests of each person and each collective, administrative measures have a legal and coercive character and they directly affect the actions of the subjects of management. Management by administrative measures is management by the law--namely using the law to direct, regulate and control the activities of both the managers and the subjects of management. Managers have the right to make decisions and issue orders; and the subjects of management must carry out the orders given by the higher echelons. Each managerial cadres and echelon must use his or its authority effectively and have the responsibility of corresponding with that authority. A person, upon knowing that he has the right to make a decision and bears the responsibility for that decision, will truly strive for mastery; and instead of making vague and empty statements, he will be compelled to pay constant attention and concern to the task given him. Authority, is not accompanied by responsibility, will serve as a good breeding ground for bureaucratic thoughts and actions. Nevertheless, without authority, responsibility will also lead to bureaucratism as no one wants responsibility unless he is given authority.

Without administrative measures, it would be impossible to manage the socialist economy. From the very first stage of economic construction, our state used administrative measures to uniformly manage the national economy. Our country's economy, being organized in accordance with a unified plan, brought about positive results that effectively served our efforts in the war for national salvation.

Unless administrative measures are firmly founded on economic bases and authority is accompanied by responsibility, bureaucratism will develop and become even worse. Many decisions have not been implemented or have been implemented unscrupulously not only because discipline is lax and the sense of organization is poor, but also because no one is responsible for those decisions and there is no supervision of their implementation. Giving authority or further authority to lower echelons and lower-echelon managerial cadres is therefore a measure designed to overcome the ills of bureaucratism that are currently plaguing us. On the other hand, while doing so, we must at the same time create the necessary conditions for the enforcement of this authority. When the lower echelons are totally capable of making their own decisions and when it is found best to let them do so, the higher echelons should not intervene unless it becomes necessary. This is also one of the requirements of decentralization of management. To give authority to the lower echelons does not mean that the lower echelons can do whatever they wish in an undisciplined manner. In fact, every managerial echelon must abide by the law and discipline of the state. The socialist economy is managed according to the principle of democratic centralism; and all of the most important orders must come from a unified center.

Socio-educational measures: In a production organization, there exists a "man to man" relationship in addition to a "man to machine" relationship. Production management, and for that matter economic management, is aimed first of all at managing man and regulating the relations between individuals. Therefore, it is inappropriate to stress only administrative measures, practice only dictatorship and resort exclusively to coercion. This is because in a socialist society, each production unit exists not only a link of the social production chain but also as a factor for socio-political development; and it is here that the workers will be trained and fostered politically and ideologically and their concept of life will be perfected. Political activities and ideological education constitute a very important aspect of the work performed by the managerial organs. Political and ideological education will act upon the consciousness of the laboring people as well as their psychology and sentiments, creating in them a new awareness, a new school of thought and a new concept of life suitable to the new socialist production system.

On the one hand, educational measures rely on the use of spiritual and ethical stimuli to enhance the patriotic feelings and the love for socialism of the laboring people, regulate the relations of youth unions and teenagers' groups, and ethically promote the positive social character and the positive labor attitude of both collectives and individuals, with the aim of achieving high labor productivity and production output. These measures consist of criticism and self-criticism, propaganda in the press, exchanges of experience, inspection by the people, and so forth.

On the other hand, educational measures also rely on one's state of mind and feelings. Such measures are psychological measures. Correctly given, material and spiritual rewards will create favorable conditions for management as they encourage everyone to improve the efficiency of their work. Giving out rewards and penalties in a just and timely manner will have a good effect on the subjects of management. The correct combination of the three interests, the

suitability of each person to the task given him, the similarity in character of all members of a collective which we often call a team, and so forth will all produce a good psychological effect on the subjects of management. The conditions of production and life and good organization of nurseries, kindergartens and so forth will also have not a small effect on labor productivity and the work performance of the laboring people.

The improvement of the general cultural knowledge of all members of the society is very basic to all socio-educational measures.

These three types of management measures form an integrated whole. Far from negating one another, they complement one another, creating a combined strength that affects all aspects of managerial work, every working person and every collective of laboring people, and both the managers and those under management. In reality, no management measure can work independently and every measure shares the same factors of others.

The application of economic measures requires the use of economic stimuli. However, these economic stimuli can only be used when they are in the form of directives, resolutions, guidelines and so forth which have been approved administratively, that is, through the state management system. In addition to this, when employed as administrative forms and measures or management rules, the directives, resolutions, orders, statutes and so forth of the managerial organs must all be based on economic theories, be economically oriented, regulate economic relations and serve as the instrument for carrying out economic measures.

We are currently opposing and resolutely eradicating the bureaucratic system of management based on subsidization--creature which is alien to the methods of socialist economic management. However, if management is carried out without the law, namely without applying administrative measures, it will be impossible to have an economy that is centrally controlled and develops according to plan; and it will also be impossible to build a unified national economy.

Our country is now in the first stage of the transition period toward socialism. The economy is still composed of different components--socialist and nonsocialist. The laboring people have both socialist and nonsocialist ideas. The awareness of and capability for mastery still remain poor in certain places and at certain times, hence the low efficiency of management. The general cultural knowledge of the laboring people remains low. The vestiges of the old regime and nonproletarian thoughts still exist. In order to advance toward building a system of large-scale socialist production we must, on the one hand, strive to develop production and build new production forces; and on the other hand, we must step up education to improve the general cultural knowledge of the laboring people while pushing ahead the scientific-technological revolution. Against this background, all three types of management measures must be brought into use simultaneously. However, the relationship among these measures must change with each stage of economic development and at each level of management. The selection of a correct combination of different types of management measures is of great significance as it will more or less decide the success or failure of management methods. If an incorrect combination is chosen, there the situation will arise in which the effect of the moving force

is weakened or even nullified, thus paralyzing the economy, destroying the production forces and limiting the positive aspects of progressive production relations. The selection and combination of different management measures reflects the managerial artistry of the leaders.

In reality, the relationship between economic and administrative measures is one between centralization and decentralization. Centralization means that authority is held by the higher echelons at high-level managerial organs while decentralization means that a number of functions and authority are relegated to lower-level manage organs. Thus, centralization and decentralization are simply the division of authority and responsibility among different levels. At the central level of management, the decisions issued are largely administrative measures of a legal and compulsory nature which are closely linked with the interests of the entire country and society' and the lower the level-- down to the grassroots--the more the administrative decisions will decrease in number while the more the economic decisions will increase. At the grassroots level, economic measures must be applied as fully as administrative regulations permit. The leaders must be authorized to select for themselves the best of all the available programs of actions; and in so doing, they will develop the highest sense of responsibility.

The extent of the centralization and division of authority and responsibility is dependent on the development of the economy and the production forces, and on the managerial knowledge of the various levels. While the laboring people have yet to develop and organized and disciplined work conduct and to overcome liberalism and the lack of responsibility, and while they are still unable to exercise their right to mastery in a correct manner and develop a high sense of voluntary labor versus indulgence in laziness, the coercive effect of administrative measures plays a positive role. At a time when a firm material-technical basis has not yet been established, the economy still remains undeveloped, material resources are limited, the possibility of self-management by the lower echelons has yet to be expanded, there are no firm guarantees for the authority relegated to the lower echelons to be exercised, balanced and stable economic-technical norms have yet to be established, and the positive effects of economic measures have not been fully developed and at times, they may even adversely affect the formation of the new type of men. We cannot promote the development of production merely through the use of economic stimuli and policies of materials and spiritual incentives. It is necessary to make the laboring people aware of their authority and responsibility toward labor and production. While the economy is faced with difficulties and management is fraught with mistakes and shortcomings, it is very important that the laboring people are made highly aware of the destiny of the fatherland. This is the objective of educational measures.

Our mistakes and shortcomings in management stem partly from our failure to correctly combine the three types of administrative, economic and educational measures, and partly from our failure to correctly use each type of management measure. Due to the harsh conditions of the war which required us to pool all our resources for winning victory, we could not pay proper attention to all the interests in the practice of economic management; all activities were directed chiefly through orders for the purpose of achieving the desired results at any cost; and even managerial law was not strictly observed. This

situation has given rise to the thought that to use administrative measures is to carry out management through orders whereas to use economic measures is to pay attention solely to economic interests. Such a mechanical differentiation has had deplorable results: All things considered as orders are carried out without considering their economic effectiveness; and for all things related to economic interests, attention is given only to the use of material incentives, regardless of what the regulations or the law may say, and one does whatever he sees fit. And while noneconomic business practices are opposed, people also demand that administrative measures be abolished. However, far from abolishing administrative measures, we only oppose bureaucratic red-tape--a practice by which one wants to wield all the authority and control all economic establishments from a single center; and on this basis, to impose restrictions and coercion on the lower echelons. So long as we want to have a unified and planned economic system, administrative and other measures are still needed.

To correctly use the three types of management measures every leading cadre must firmly grasp the science and art of management. Under the current conditions, this must be reflected in the centralization and decentralization of authority and responsibility. In our current endeavor to improve economic management, it is necessary to carry out centralization to a high degree and appropriately, effect decentralization vigorously, expand the lower echelons' right to make decisions in accordance with the specific conditions of production and business, and clearly assign authority and impose responsibility accordingly.

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## EFFECT A SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE IN EXPORT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 17-23

[Article by Le Khac; passages between slantlines denote italics as published]

[Text] In the present era, the internationalization of economic activities is inevitable due to differences in the geography of countries, the uneven development of productive forces, and the socialization of production beyond the boundaries of a country. This is also due to the fact that social labor is not only distributed within a country but also on an international scale. Therefore, in order to develop the economy, science and technology quickly and broadly, every country must participate in the international distribution of labor under one form or another. For our country, this has become an important and urgent issue.

At present stage and for a long time to come, our people will have to continue to simultaneously carry out the two strategic tasks of: /Successfully building socialism; and remaining combat ready to firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland./

In order to carry out these strategic tasks, we must develop foreign trade and expand economic relations with other countries.

Expanding barter trade and economic cooperation with other countries, especially with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in CEMA will make it possible for us to /import/ mechanical equipment and raw materials and technical equipment which we cannot obtain in the country or to produce enough of for our own use. By so doing, we will be able to /effectively apply modern scientific and technological know-how, exploit the advantages of the international distribution of labor and effectively use the land, manpower and natural resources of the country/. On the basis, we will be able to improve the efficiency of production and work domestically, renovate the economic structure, build and develop agriculture and modern industry, and carry out socialist industrialization in the country.

Therefore, for our country, developing foreign trade and expanding economic relations with other countries constitute a /strategic task which is both urgent and long-term/.

In order to expand barter trade and economic cooperation with other countries, /what is most essential is that we must step up export activities./.

Stepping up exports is aimed primarily at /creating a necessary source of foreign currency in order to meet the growing demands of various sectors and localities/ for the import of raw materials, fuel, technical supplies, machinery and equipment, and essential consumer goods in order to develop production, build and develop the economy, stabilize and improve the people's livelihood and /cover the foreign currency expenditures of the state./

Export and import has a /tremendous and direct effect on production and on the growth rate of gross social products and national income./. Through the expansion of the market abroad, exports can create conditions for various sectors, localities, and production establishments to expand their scope of activities toward large-scale production, and at the same time, to improve technology and product quality and lower production cost. Therefore, exports are instrumental in boosting the specialization and cooperativization of production, thus contributing to renovating the economic structure.

Exports can also /create conditions for expanding economic cooperation with other countries/, associating in-country production with foreign markets and linking our national economy with the world economy, especially with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in CEMA. These are indispensable conditions for effectively exploiting our country's economic potentials. Therefore, among all economic activities, exporting constitutes a task of /strategic importance/ for our entire party and people.

Statistics from past years show that export and import activities have had a profound effect on the economy. The growth rate of various sectors, localities and production establishments, and the people's welfare depend largely on our import capabilities, especially the import of raw materials, fuel, technical supplies, transportation means, machinery and spare parts, essential consumer goods and so forth. But importing itself also depend on the state's source of foreign currency brought in mainly by exports. Therefore, in order to balance the import demands of the economy, ensure foreign currency expenditures for the state and repay foreign debts on schedule, /there is no way other than to step up export activities if export value is to be increased./

In the past, while following a policy of quickly increasing the source of goods and export values, the foreign trade sector, together with various sectors, localities and production establishments, has exerted great efforts to step up exports. Exporting has had a positive effect on production and life. In general, the scope of export activities is, however, still small, compared with the potentials of the economy, and cannot meet demands for imports and for the expansion of foreign trade and economic relations with other countries. The development of exports is very slow and, even worse, is reported to have remained stagnant in some years. The per-capita export rate is very low as compared with other socialist countries in CEMA. The structure of exports is not attractive and only marginal improvement has been noted. The imbalance between exports and imports is still very serious.

This poor and sluggish export situation is due to the following reasons:

1. The overwhelming tendency to rely on outside support coupled with the bureaucratic system of management through subsidization, especially in the planning task, has led to various sectors and localities failing to realize that if they want more imports, they must step up exports. That is why many sectors, localities and production units have failed to conceive of exporting as a duty and benefit and to concern themselves with stepping up the production, purchase and delivery of export goods and achieving a balance between their demands for imports and their export capacity.
2. /The introduction of various policies and measures aimed at promoting the production of exports is slow./ The pricing policy on the purchase of exports has for years been unable to promote export-oriented production. Export requires selected and high-quality goods that are highly competitive in world markets. But the disparity between the prices of export goods and those of consumer goods used domestically is not appropriate. Such a pricing policy is not good for promoting export-oriented production. We have also been slow in readjusting the internal accountability rate and the system of subsidization for offsetting export losses.

The inadequate and untimely supply of grain to the producers of export goods, especially export-oriented agricultural products, and raw materials and equipment to export-oriented production establishments has constituted a great obstacle to the development of exports.

As early as the beginning of 1980, the council of ministers issued or amended a series of policies and measures aimed at increasing the production of export goods. These policies included the policy on investments in the development of exports and on the supply of necessary raw materials and equipment to export-oriented production establishments, the policy on grain supply for export-producing cooperatives, the system of granting foreign currency loans for increased production of export goods, the policy on selling production materials and essential consumer goods to the producers of export goods, the incentive policy on prices in the purchase of export products, the incentive policy on bonuses for export goods and, especially, the right to use foreign currency for the import of production materials and essential consumer goods.

These policies have just been able to /develop their initial effect./

3. /The task of organizing export activities is still weak in many aspects and fraught with deficiencies./

During the years of the anti-U.S. National Salvation War (1965-75), the primary task of the foreign trade sector was to handle international aid, or more specifically, to receive and distribute imports. The sector also engaged in barter trade with other countries but this was only done on a small scale. Therefore, efforts to study foreign markets in order to expand exports and imports and to direct domestic production activities--especially agricultural, light industrial and handicraft production--toward export development were very limited. The activities of a number of import-export general corporations have not yet been truly combined with production, have failed to provide good support

for production, are heavily characterized by the tendency to carry out business purely for "profitable purposes," and to choose only easy jobs to do; and have therefore failed to encourage producers to develop exports. On the other hand, export and import activities and their management mechanism--which are still heavily characterized by the bureaucratic system of administration through subsidization--have failed to encourage export-import organizations to improve their business and quickly expand and increase the sources of exports. Slowness in expanding the right to directly engage in export-import operations among a number of qualified sectors and localities will make it impossible for us to encourage them to actively create sources of exports and develop exports in order to balance against their demand for imports. Since the beginning of 1981, the policy that allows a number of qualified provinces and cities to directly handle their own export-import operations has stimulated various sectors and localities to exploit their abilities to increase the sources of exports. Through export-import operations, a number of provinces and cities have been able to solve some difficulties now facing them, maintain and develop local industries, create more jobs for and stabilize the lives of a number of the laboring people. The import-export activities of various provinces and cities in the past have, however, revealed a number of negative aspects which must be overcome such as competing with each other for domestic sources of goods, thus causing prices to go up; competing with each other in exporting or importing the same kind of goods in the same market or with the same traders, thus creating conditions for foreign traders to press for lower prices; failing to comply with various state regulations on management over export-import operations, and so forth.

Vital socioeconomic tasks for the 5-year period 1981-85 and for the 1980's as a whole have created very great demands for the export sector to fulfill. To achieve this aim, the export sector must effect a /great change in export, and must strive to increase exports in order to obtain imports./ The export sector must actively contribute to creating a new balance for the economy and must, as an immediate task, strive to gradually meet requirements arising from production and welfare.

In order to meet these requirements, /we must concentrate on creating more sources of exports, increasing exports, and positively and urgently creating some chief export products in large quantities, with high quality but low production cost, and highly competitive in world markets./

For our country, increasing the production of export goods is a new and complex task which requires that the state solve a series of problems, ranging from /the targets and structure of export goods to the handling and management of export goods and the organization of export activities./

In order to correctly determine the targets and structure of exports for each stage, we must rely on the party's guidelines for building the socialist economy in order to correctly determine the targets and markets for exports, the potential to develop the sources of exports of various sectors and localities, and the production situation of these goods.

1. /As for the targets and markets for exports,/ export markets must be linked with import markets. /Our primary export markets are the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and other socialist countries in CEMA./ These markets are very large, firmly-established and long-lasting.

Therefore, our export goods must /meet requirements for marketing in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries,/ and must serve the purpose of binding our country with the fraternal countries in the socialist community so that we can help each other in achieving mutual development.

Simultaneously, we must also expand our export markets to other countries, especially to those friendly countries which have established relations of friendship and cooperation with us such as India, Algeria and with a number of countries in the Middle East, Africa and so forth. We must also expand barter trade with a number of developed industrialized countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit in order to import materials and goods which we cannot obtain in sufficient quantity from socialist countries and to earn foreign currency for the state.

2. /With regard to the production orientation and composition of export goods for the 1980's./ The market is a factor deciding the orientation for the development of the source of exports. However, the composition of export goods for each particular stage depends on economic growth and on our abilities to create sources of exports for that stage.

The Fifth Party Congress determined the orientation for the development of the source of goods like this: "For the current initial stage, our export goods must comprise tropical farm produce, forestry and maritime products, and certain kinds of consumer goods, heavy-industry and mineral products."

Not only does this orientation fit for the years 1981-85 but basically it also fits for the entire 1980's. This is because it meets market demand for farm produce, consumer goods and raw materials and suit the economic structure and development in our country--an agricultural country which is in the initial stage of socialist industrialization--and those potentials (in land, labor, branches and trades and natural resources) which are readily available for exploitation.

During the 1980's, the main targets for the development of exports will /continue to be raw and processed farm produce, industrial consumer goods, artisan and handicraft goods, fine arts objects, forestry and maritime products and a number of heavy industry products./

With regard to farm produce, the most important goods will continue to be /short-term export-oriented crops/, particularly industrial and fruit crops. It is necessary to quickly develop those crops which are in great demand in foreign markets and the production of which in the country does not require large capital investment and complex techniques such as soybeans, peanuts, tobacco, jute mulberry, sugarcane, pineapples, bananas, spices (hard pepper, garlic, and pepper), medicinal and essential-oil plants and so forth.

Along with developing export-oriented short-term crops, it is necessary to pay attention to export-oriented perennial crops (rubber, coffee, tea, oil palm, coconut, cashew and so forth). We must actively carry out intensive cultivation in areas under cultivation while expanding these areas in accordance with the state plan /if main items of export goods of high economic value are to be created/ and if large quantities of export goods are to be produced in the final years of the 1980's.

In addition to crops, we must actively exploit animal husbandry in various areas, especially in the Mekong River Delta, in order to quickly increase the source of exports.

/As for forestry products,/ apart from making the greatest effort to /exploit forestry by-products/ such as rattan, bamboo, thin bamboo, and osier in order to develop the production of various items of export-oriented handicrafts, /medicinal materials and indigenous forestry products/ such as cinnamon, rosin, terebenthene, and mu-oil, we must continue to /rely on the exploitation and processing of timber/ because timber is a main source of exports.

/Regarding maritime products,/ we must concentrate on exploiting those kinds of maritime products which have high export value such as shrimp and squid. We must pay specific attention to the quality of export-oriented maritime products in order to quickly increase the rate of export.

/With regard to consumer goods,/ we must pay attention to those items which are made from locally available materials such as rattan, bamboo, thin bamboo, rush, osier and palm leaves with the aim of exploiting our advantages in abundant manpower and raw materials. We must do our utmost to develop these items as our potentials in this field are very great and as the market, especially the Soviet market, is also very large, requiring a wide variety of goods. Moreover, attention must be paid to expanding the system of contract ordering of export goods--especially with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries--in all forms, including the import of raw materials and the export of products. Accelerating the contract ordering of export goods is an important export policy aimed at simultaneously providing jobs for workers and effectively using existing material and technical facilities. Implementation of this policy will be instrumental in developing production, expanding handicraft trades and further increasing the national income.

In the 1980's while concentrating efforts on the contract ordering of such traditional products as textiles, clothing, embroidery, woollen carpets.... We must widen the scope of the contract ordering of goods with foreign countries to meet the demands of their market.

/Export mineral and heavy industrial products/ are those goods which can be produced only with major investment and much time. In the 1980's we will still have to rely on the traditional items such as coal, tin, chromite and so forth and some engineering and electronic products which we can turn out for export.

In order to turn out as many export goods as possible under the aforementioned guidelines, /we should deal with the problem of basic production organization./

In the conditions of our country, the direction in which we should organize the production of export goods is to mainly use the state-run and collective economies and to /simultaneously use the full capacity of family-based economy and individual production./

Consequently, we should develop the production of export goods in both areas: The central and local economies. Based on the above guideline and structure of developing export goods, it is very important to step up exports vigorously along /the line of exploiting the local economy/. In many documents, the party Central Committee and the government have asserted that the production of export goods /is the responsibility of all sectors, localities and production installations,/ and must be carried out according to the guidelines for cooperation between the central and local governments and between the state and the people.

The guideline should be guaranteed by /a proper management system/.

Every ministry, general department, province, city and production unit which requires imports or requests the state supply imported materials, /must establish export plans/ (except when there is no condition or capability for export). There should be export plans, especially for agricultural, forest and maritime products, and for handicraft, artisan industrial and artistic goods. Plans must be established by the authorities even at the district, precinct, village and cooperative levels.

With respect to the production targets of export goods, /there should be a uniform and strict balance in the supply of energy and raw and other materials (including packing materials), and in the utilization of transportation. We should secure such a balance with regard to those main export commodities in order to ensure that these commodities can be produced adequately from both the quantitative and qualitative viewpoints. In the course of implementing the state plan, if sectors, localities and production units cannot get adequate raw and other materials from the state or do not have material facilities to fulfill their production plans, they must reserve necessary materials and facilities primarily for the production and delivery of export goods. Those sectors, localities and units which fail to fulfill the norms for producing and delivering export goods, will not be considered as fulfilling the state plan.

With regard to major export items such as soybean, jute, tobacco, sugarcane, mulberry, fruits and vegetables... they must be produced quickly on a large scale in the 1980's. The state will formulate a uniformly targeted joint-sector program including many vital measures to ensure the achievement of set objectives. In the process of implementing this program, there must be close coordination and the combination of many tasks such as zoning off production areas, guiding production, supplying materials; collecting, purchasing and exporting products, and establishing suitable organizations to effectively connect production with export.

Along with changing anew the planning task and the management system, the amendment of policies to stimulate the development of exports is of great significance. The government has published a series of policies and measures to secure material conditions for developing the production of export goods

and to encourage sectors, localities, units and individuals to pay even more attention to the development of export goods production.

With a view to developing the effect of the above measures, all sectors and localities should positively and uniformly implement the published policies and systems, especially policies concerning investment, the supply of production means and grain, the collecting and purchasing prices of export goods, the incentive sales of staple commodities based on two-way economic contracts, rewards to encourage the production of export goods and authorization to use foreign exchange. Moreover, we should continue to extend more authority to qualified sectors and localities so that they can deal directly in import-export business. We should improve the business operations of import-export organizations and transform the business management method based on subsidization into socialist business management. At the same time, we must urgently study and publish various policies and systems on the management of imports and exports so as to ensure the principle of state monopoly over foreign trade and to enable the central government to unify the management of foreign trade operations. We should strengthen the foreign trade ministry, making it a state agency capable of managing imports and exports throughout the country.

In order to turn out many export goods--especially those goods of which the export quota and volume are great--while relying mainly on our own strength and production abilities, we should also /struggle to acquire the capital and technology of foreign countries/ through various forms of economic, scientific and technical cooperation in order to tap all the potentials of our country. By intensifying our cooperation with foreign countries in the economic field, especially in production and the specialization of agricultural and industrial production and in other economic sectors, we will be able to boost the production of export goods vigorously.

Our government has signed many agreements on economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. If we implemented these agreements well, we will certainly be able to rapidly increase export volumes and quotas and secure steady markets.

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## RAISE THE HANDLING CAPACITY AT THE MAIN LINK OF HAIPHONG PORT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 24-29

[Article by Pham Van Nghien; passages within slantlines denote italics as published]

[Text] A seaport is an important link in the chain of transporting import-export goods. Haiphong Port is not an ordinary seaport, as it holds a particularly important position in the development of our economy. The requirements of developing our country's economic relations with foreign countries--especially the CEMA member countries at a time when international rail links have been discontinued and the requirements of developing the sea transport sector--a strategic guideline for developing our economy--call for action to intensify the activities of ports, especially Haiphong port.

However, Haiphong is a very weak point in our country's system of communications and transportation. There is cause for concern because a serious degree of sluggishness in port operations has been observed for quite long a time, causing considerable damage to production and adversely affecting our trade relations with foreign countries. The various production sectors' demands for material and technical bases have been substantially met, although not completely.

Work to improve Haiphong port began in 1967. By the fourth quarter of 1981, 142 million dong had been spent for construction and equipment (excluding 414 trucks and items of machinery issued to the port during the period from 1977 to 1980 which do not fall in with the Soviet aid project for complete equipment). However, the results achieved are not commensurate with the amount of investment. In 1964, per 1,000 dong of fixed assets the port achieved 18.2 tons of goods (in transit), but in 1980 it achieved only 8.1 tons--that is 44.5 percent of 1964 tonnage.

The above facts were due to the following factors:

- A. The reduction in turnaround time for ships in port is an important objective of ports. However, in past years the time ships stay in the port has increased at a worrisome rate. In 1964, if a foreign ship transported an average of 4,250 tons of goods, the time it spent tied up at Haiphong port was 6 days and 4 hours. In 1980, a foreign ship with a cargo of 4,730 tons spent 26 days and 17 hours (4 times longer than in 1964) at berth. Berthing a foreign ship at Vietnamese ports /for one day/ might cost from \$4,000 to \$10,000. In our country, with better

organization and coordination, the time ships are tied up at Haiphong port could be reduced rationally and some \$10 million could be saved annually in expenses for foreign and domestic ships at Haiphong port.

B. An unusual economic phenomenon at Haiphong port is that the volume of goods stored in godown areas far exceeds the port capacity and the storage time usually is twice the prescribed time. Moreover, the situation of losses and damage is very serious and prolonged. In 1966, goods stored in warehouses and godown areas averaged to 112,000 tons. In May 1981, this figure had increased to 180,000 tons.

C. The transit capacity of sea ports depends considerably on the capacity of domestic transportation sectors which in turn depend partly on the extent of coordination between the port authorities and the transportation units. Such coordination was very poor in the past primarily because of /an irrational system of delivering and receiving goods./ (There is an intermediary between port authorities and transportation units: consignors).

Another irrationality in the operational system of the main link of Haiphong port is its relations with too many transportation units the activities of which are not placed under centralized command. Meanwhile, there are neither economic contracts nor professional contracts between port authorities and transportation units. It is impossible that such a situation will not lead to a decrease in transport efficiency.

Generally speaking, the total volume of import goods carried by the three domestic transportation sections fails to meet the requirements. From 1975 to the first half of 1981, an average of 4,000-6,000 tons were moved daily while the requirements were 7,000-8,000 tons. Import goods transported by trucks accounted for 30.6-41.8 percent, while those carried by the rail sector only accounted for 20.4-29 percent. This is an irrational division of labor among transportation sections.

/The operational system at the main link of Haiphong port--a clear case of small-scale production in the communications-transportation sector--is not in line with production development laws and the special laws on transportation management./ This is the main cause of the above situation.

Our country's communications and transportation sector has been mechanized considerably. Loading and unloading at Haiphong port has been completely mechanized. The removal of goods is also carried out by mechanized facilities. Our sea ports and sea-going fleets have also been gradually modernized. In today's international relations, our country's sea transport sector cannot be separated from technical innovations and major industrial developments in the shipping, loading and unloading operations of world sea transport. Consequently, to a certain extent, the sea transport sector as well as other transportation sectors of our country have been favored to become a large-scale production sector: /mechanized production./

Along with mechanizing production, we should /specialize it./ In our country, specialized transportation sections have been organized quickly with their own

material and technical bases and management apparatus. Along with specializing by sectors, labor has been divided by territorial division to build regional transportation forces.

The purpose of specializing production is to increase labor productivity. Whether this purpose can be achieved or not, depends on /cooperation/ among the specialized sectors and units. Poor cooperation will destroy the role of mechanization and specialization and this is a major weakness in our production. In communications and transportation as well as in other economic sectors, there should be cooperation in the investment and operating stages. In performing transportation operations, attention must be paid to communications terminals since these terminals are junction centers for many different modes and lines of transportation, and of many transporting, loading and unloading units. As stated above, at the main link of Haiphong port the coordination between port authorities and transportation units in the matter of operational procedures is very poor due to an irrelevant system that has not been changed promptly (too many intermediary agents and junction points, and lack of official and strict regulations on coordination and so forth). Consequently, no matter how good are the port and transportation units/ material and technical bases and no matter how high is the level of specialization, with such low level of cooperativization as mentioned above, the port operations still remain confined by small-scale production.

Although the specialized transportation branches and units are placed under the management of either central or local governments, transportation operations throughout the country or in each economic zone and each terminal area must always be placed under /centralized managerial control./ Such centralized managerial control can be carried out not mainly by a leading agency but essentially by an institution (unified planning system, unified transportation regulations and unified system of fares).

Although many other economic sectors should also be administered centrally, none needs as high a level of centralized management as the transportation sector. This is because transport operations are very scattered in time and space and the transportation system is always influenced by the outside activities of other economic sectors. This requirement of centralized management is further reflected by the fact that no matter how detailed the division of labor in the transportation sector and no matter how many and how well transportation sectors have been specialized, the task of transportation remain always the same: Transporting people and goods from one place to another. Our weaknesses in the centralization of management is clearly manifested at various terminal areas, especially Haiphong. Weaknesses can be seen not in the /lack of a general management agency but in the lack of an institution, specifically the non-availability of unified industrial regulations and unified professional plans at the terminal areas,/ and the lack of regulations on trade operations and shipping and receiving activities. Particularly, transportation units operate according to contracts with consignors without any coordination among them despite the fact that they are in the same transportation sector. In Haiphong and some other localities, there is a regional transportation committee. This committee cannot control all the transportation operations in the region, but deals only with disputes and unscheduled operations. This situation has existed for quite a long time and is completely alien to mechanized production.

/The failure to implement correctly some of the socialist management principles/ is another main cause of sluggishness in port activities.

/Carrying out management according to sectors along with management according to regions and territorial divisions/ is an important management principle for the establishment of economic and technical sectors and the coexistence between central-level and local economic units. In reality, the ministry of communications and transportation and transportation departments--which represent the ministry to take charge of management of specialized transportation branches--have carried out effective management only of those transportation units under central management. But, of the transportation units under central management, the ministry has been able to manage only public transportation units; meanwhile, a fairly large transportation force of the various economic sectors--an important part of this force is not to be used in the production chain--are not handled by specialized management agencies either. This situation has naturally led to a failure to use the nationwide transportation force effectively. At the main link, about 50 percent of the volume of imported goods have been transported by riverine and truck units of localities. If there is an effective management system, the ministry of communications and transportation will be empowered to use the means of localities when necessary, and will be able to manage the operation of local means at the main link. In this way, the production output will certainly be higher than it is now.

The principle of giving material incentives to transportation workers has not been carried out correctly and promptly. Their real income is far from meeting the demands for everyday life. Their basic wages are not sufficient for them to maintain and develop their labor strength and to feed their immediate dependents. The average monthly pay of vehicle drivers, vehicle repairmen and longshoremen in Haiphong in 1980 was 81, 69 and 121 dong, respectively; and the average monthly bonus for these three categories of workers was 3, 2.4 and 3.8 dong, respectively. The regulations on wages, bonuses, norms, unit prices and so forth are not attractive to workers (longshoremen receive product-based salaries, while repairmen are paid on an hourly or daily basis) because they do not associate the port workers' interests with the economic results obtained in quickly unloading goods from ships. Since April 1981, there have been amendments to the systems of wages, bonuses, allowances and so forth. However, these amendments are still far from meeting the workers' demands.

/The planning principle has not been carried out satisfactorily./ Production plans are not based on long-term estimates (or are based on unscientific estimates) of the volume and structure of import goods and of the changes in loading and unloading techniques. As a result, the port is in a permanently passive situation characterized by a lack of long-term preparations in terms of workers, material and technical facilities and loading and unloading procedures. It cannot know with any certainty what will be the kinds of import goods, what will be their volume, when they will come and to where they will be transported. Import planning is mediocre and, on many occasions, is not in keeping with the demands in the country, as in the case of the import of complete equipment.

Moreover, /the task of ensuring the operation of the material and technical facilities of Haiphong port still leaves much to be desired./ The percentage of broken-down or damaged loading and unloading and transportation means is very high. This is one of the causes of the imbalance between the exploitation and repair links and between the transportation and loading and unloading sections.

Problems facing the port must be solved only through the reorganization of the entire main link. This means that they must be examined and solved from a /systematic viewpoint,/ according to which we must pay special attention to the essential relations--having a cause-effect character--between the elements of the port system (the port and other units operating at the main link). We must resolutely do away with unnecessary relations because, while failing to achieve the uniformity of the system, they have reduced its operational effectiveness. The handling capacity of the main link can be increased only through the adoption of many important measures, the primary of which /is to establish a direct relationship between the port and transportation units through economic and operational contracts, and to get rid of unnecessary relations between the port and consignees in the delivery and reception of goods at the port./ In July 1981, the state promulgated Decree No. 330/CP specifying that goods will no longer be handed over to consignees at the port, but that the port will load them onto transportation means according to the goods issuance coupons from a foreign trade agency. The decree adds that goods will then be "transported to specified locations from where consignees can easily take their goods away." Thus, the new regulations are scientific and create conditions for the /achievement of coordination in goods handling procedures among units of the main link./

Such coordination cannot be achieved satisfactorily if the port is to deal with so many transportation units as it is doing now. Therefore, it is necessary to /gradually reduce related links and achieve a concentrated control of the activities of transportation means at the main link./

/It is necessary to establish a system of control of all activities at the main link./

/Devising regulations on uniform handling procedures at the main link/ is indispensable for the perfection of a production organizational structure for the main link. It is a necessary condition for coordinating the activities of all related units operating at the main link. The regulations on uniform handling procedures are a system of /official specifications on the coordination among related units at the main link and on the organization of their work,/ including their auxiliary activities. These regulations are designed to ensure the uniform operation of the related units at the main link. Naturally, they can be formulated only after the number of transportation units operating at the main link has been reduced and only when consignees do not receive goods at the port.

The formulation of the port's plans has long been separated from the operational plans of transportation units. There has been no exchange of plan estimates between the units operating at the main link, nor has there been a common

operational plan for the main link. Therefore, it is necessary to establish a common operational plan based on the /regulations on uniform handling procedures and a good information system or a strict information discipline./

An important part of the control mechanism of the port network is called mechanism of adjustment with reverse relations [cow chees dieeuf chinhr cos lieen heej nguwowcj] (TAP CHI CONG SAN footnote: The mechanism of adjustment with reverse relations is one of the models of the adjustment mechanism). This mechanism ensures the operational stability of the port network and reacts promptly to internal changes in the network and to outside effects on the network. Its existence is a must in any economic system, especially transportation systems. Its purpose is to ensure that the handling figures of the network do not exceed authorized limits because if they do, the network will not be able to operate or will operate with poor results. The mechanism of adjustment with reverse relations owes its existence to a two-way information system. The major weakness of the various economic systems in our country, including transportation systems, is the /lack of a two-way information system./ That is why control work is poor, and the authority that issues decisions does not know of the results of their implementation in order to improve them.

The quality of production management at the main link in general, and at the port in particular, depends to a large extent on the quality of the information system. This matter is related to the formation of the aforementioned uniform operational regulations. It involves establishing methods of coordination among the information reception and transmitting centers at the main link, and determining the structure of the two-way information system.

Along with improving the managerial mechanism, it is necessary to /strengthen the material and technical bases of the Haiphong port,/ in order to ensure that the port will not only increase its handling capacity, but will also have a reserve capacity enabling it to react promptly to changes in production. At the same time, /the principles of socialist management must be carried out correctly./

The principle of management according to sectors, regions and territorial divisions has become important because there are more and more economic and technical sectors. However, the requirements of this principle should be studied thoroughly before it is implemented successfully. As for the communications and transportation sector, it must make practical suggestions to the state concerning its power and responsibility, and tasks to be done to ensure the implementation of the principle of management according to sectors.

No matter to what degree production is mechanized and modernized, manpower remains a decisive factor in production. To increase the production output at Haiphong port as well as in other places, besides the strict enforcement of labor discipline and the upholding of responsibility, we must apply correctly the principle of distribution according to the amount of labor performed and an appropriate wage and bonus system. This must be done not only for longshoremen, but also mechanical repairmen, delivery and reception personnel and others, because a product is the result of a chain with many links, none of which should be neglected.

The situation of damaged or lost goods and negative phenomena at Haiphong port has, over the past years, become serious and must be solved by practical measures. If the delivery and reception tasks are improved and if the direct relations between the port and transportation units are established--thereby reducing some unnecessary work and manpower--Haiphong port will be in a good position to reorganize its operational management and, in particular, /its coordination work/ and to organize the loading and unloading of goods in the most rational manner. This will greatly help the port to overcome the prevailing negative phenomena. Moreover, /it is necessary to provide adequate training for all kinds of workers, especially longshoremen, in the handling techniques and procedures/ and to ensure that the regulations on these techniques and procedures are scrupulously applied at the port. These regulations must be perfected and officially promulgated. Along with implementing the wage and bonus system and fulfilling material responsibility to all workers and personnel at the port in order to encourage them to increase labor productivity and ensure their work quality, we must pay particular attention to /educating/ them to display a socialist labor spirit, heighten the sense of being masters of the port and respect state property, especially when it belongs to such a particularly important socialist enterprise as Haiphong port. /Administrative measures/--applying state law and severely punishing persons who refuse to work, damage or steal goods and receive bribes--must also be carried out seriously.

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## PERFECT THE LAW AND STRENGTHEN THE SOCIALIST LEGAL SYSTEM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 30-35, 50

[Article by Van Hien; passages between slantlines denote italics as published]

[Text] The Fifth Party Congress has adopted a very important measure to ensure the successful implementation of the party's line. The measure covers perfection of the law and the strengthening of the socialist legal system.

Perfecting the law and strengthening the socialist legal system is aimed at directly supporting the two strategic tasks of our entire people and armed forces, namely to successfully build socialism and to stand ready to fight to firmly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland. Any breach of the law, whether deliberate or unintentional, may weaken the socialist legal system and form a weak spot for the enemy to exploit.

The party Central Committee political report presented by Comrade General Secretary Le Duan at the Fifth VCP Congress affirmed:

/"Strengthening the socialist legal system/ is an imperative need in order to raise the managerial effectiveness of the state and to ensure the working people's right to collective mastery. To strengthen social management under the law, our state must diligently concretize the new constitution through a system of laws and pay great attention to the gradual establishment of a system of economic laws and public security laws. It must strengthen the bodies engaging in legal work and urgently increase the training of state administrative cadres at all levels and legal cadres.

"Our state must fully exercise its political and economic powers to preserve social discipline, wage an effective struggle against violations of the law and social evils, and do away with the abnormal situation in which many laws and regulations are not seriously implemented, or not even implemented at all. The state organs at the central and local levels should adopt a firm attitude and strong measures to prevent and eliminate violations of the people's right to collective mastery and mercilessly suppress the counterrevolutionaries. They should punish those exploiters who refuse to reform, hooligans and ruffians, speculators, traffickers and embezzlers. They should also take stern measures against those cadres and employees who abuse their functions and power to contravene the law.

"Party committees, state organs and mass organizations must engage, on a permanent basis, in disseminating and explaining the laws among the various social strata. Education on the law is to be introduced into schools at various levels to promote a law-abiding spirit. Control and inspection work must be intensified. A system of people's inspectors must be organized and broadened. The handling of the people's complaints must be improved and the piling up of these complaints done away with. It is necessary to put an end to the state of affairs in which no service, no organization takes upon itself the responsibility of adequately resolving the people's grievances and the violations of civic rights on which consideration is required." (Footnote: Political Report by the Party Central Committee at the Fifth National Party Congress of Delegates, TAP CHI CONG SAN, Issue No. 4, 1982, p 63)

To strengthen the socialist legal system, first of all /we must gradually build a system of laws, especially economic management laws./

State discipline and public order can be firmly maintained only if a sufficient number of necessary laws are adopted and scrupulously enforced. Only after the central state has promulgated a sufficient number of necessary laws can the localities and basic units formulate operational and managerial regulations which are both suitable for their own characteristics and consistent with the uniform laws of the state.

In the process of building and consolidating the people's power, our state has elaborated and promulgated many laws and regulations. Our legal system, however, is not yet perfect. Within the next 5-10 years, we should /institutionalize the party's line and policies more systematically and comprehensively, beginning with basic regulations, so as to gradually concretize the system of "the party leading, the people acting as masters, the state managing" in the legal field./

To build a good legal system, the party and the state have recently advocated /formulating plans for the codification of laws./ The Council of State has adopted the 1981-85 5-year plan for the codification of laws, and the government has devised annual plans for rule and regulation formulation.

The formulation of plans for the codification of laws has the effect of promoting various ministries' responsible for drafting legislation and ensuring that the consideration and adoption of bills are included in the agenda of the party's and the state's highest organs. Through the formulation of such plans, the organs concerned will evaluate and select the most effective and practical systems for meeting the demands of life, and will do away with the patchwork method of legislation drafting, which betrays a lack of advance planning. With this method, they may be able to promulgate a large number of legal documents over a given period of time, but they still fail to meet the demands of institutionalizing the party's line and policy.

In the 1981-85 5-year law making plan, great attention is being paid to all key legislation, such as the laws on state organizations, the laws on citizens' basic rights and obligations, the laws on economic and judicial management, and those pertaining to other fields (administrative, national defense, security, cultural and social management). With a few more 5-year plans, /we will have a

relatively sufficient number of necessary laws for all principal fields of management./ Only then can we boast of /a relatively perfect legal system./

Economic activities are fundamental. For this reason, the economic management function of our state is of particular importance and the task of perfecting and amending /economic management legislation/ is always a hot topic and must be given adequate attention.

To tap all resources of the people's /work force/ in order to exploit /land, forests, sea areas..../ most satisfactorily and to bring into full play all the capabilities of various /sectors and professions,/ thereby ensuring the development of /agriculture/ and /consumer goods industry,/ it is necessary to formulate more laws concerning various kinds of natural resources (these laws are acutely insufficient at present) such as land use laws, laws on the exploitation, management and preservation of underground resources (especially mineral resources), laws on the management and preservation of water sources, laws on the exploitation, management and preservation of forests, laws on the preservation of aquatic and marine resources.... We must complete the codification of labor laws and revise and amend the regulations on laborer recruitment and assignment, on wage and bonus systems and forms, on collective welfare, and so forth, in state farms, construction sites, industrial enterprises and state agencies. In drafting labor laws we should overcome the tendency of stressing only the redistribution of general labor while neglecting the redistribution of scientific, technical and managerial labor, which plays the decisive role in the scientific and technical revolution and in updating the managerial system in our country.

A law on planning which institutionalizes the task of /planning work at several levels/ and formulating plans from the basic units up will help clarify the division of responsibilities and coordination among several levels, the problems of jurisdiction, and the process of ensuring the principle of democratic centralism in planning work. The strengthening of the /economic accounting and socialist business system/ by formulating and amending various regulations on the organization and management of enterprises, united enterprises and associated enterprises of various kinds, including those in the industrial, agricultural, construction, communications and transportation sectors (such as railway enterprises, harbor enterprises...) and the trade sector (including both home and foreign trade), will help clarify the right of these establishments to take independent and creative action according to the economic accounting system, the direct economic relations system and economic contracts. At the same time, it will also help ensure the state's centralized management of the efforts to fulfill plan targets, of property control, and of the delivery of products to the state. We should amend and perfect the regulations concerning the economic accounting system applied to various enterprises of different sizes (including enterprises, united enterprises and associated enterprises), and the regulations concerning economic contracts applied in various fields: Industry, agriculture, small industry, handicraft, construction, transportation, distribution-circulation, planning, scientific and technical research, and so forth.

Up to now, the /organization, operation and management of cooperative systems/ have almost never been regulated by legislation. This is a very important

problem bearing on the efforts to promote agricultural development and consumer goods production, to establish a new order on the distribution-circulation front and, at the same time, to step up socialist transformation and to broaden the working people's right in this field. Promulgation of laws and official model regulations for agricultural production cooperatives, small industrial cooperatives, handicraft cooperatives and marketing cooperatives is essential for the efforts to define the legal character and status of various kinds of cooperatives, the relations between the state and cooperatives, the organizational system for each kind of cooperative in an entire sector, and the organization and operation of the basic cooperatives. Different model regulations may be formulated even for cooperatives in the same economic sector, in order to suit the characteristics of production, business and professional organizations, the level of collectivization of the means of production, the level of transformation of production relations, and the actual conditions and situation of each region.

The Fifth Party Congress has once again affirmed the highly important role of the /district level/ by stating: "The district must be used as a level in which to carry out the division of labor; to reorganize production; to satisfactorily utilize labor, land, forests and sea areas; to practice intensive and specialized cultivation; to develop crop planting and animal husbandry; and to expand various branches and trades." (Footnote: Political Report by the VCP Central Committee at the Fifth National Party Congress of Delegates, TAP CHI CONG SAN, Issue No 4, 1982, p 39) In the days ahead, each district will be built into an economic structure, a new rural area and a military fortress. Under the law the district administration is responsible for administering the overall management of the local political, economic, cultural social and defense activities; for fulfilling the function of a state management organ in the utilization of land and labor, the organization and operation of various kinds of cooperatives, and in the activities of the state-operated economic sector at the district level, and so forth. The current regulations on district-level management organization are not yet comprehensive and should be promptly amended, providing diverse models of management suitable for the geographical, economic, production organization, ethnic and demographic characteristics of different districts. At the same time, the regulations on management organization in villages and wards, the levels which have direct contact with the people in production and daily life, should also be amended.

From the beginning /foreign economic relations and foreign trade organizations and activities/ must be regulated by legislation. To enable these organizations and activities to make more rapid progress, we should strive for an early codification of foreign trade laws and define the extent to which and the forms in which the localities and major enterprises will be allowed by the state to participate in foreign trade activities. We should also formulate laws concerning trade contracts with foreign countries, multinational business operations, and so forth. Since our country is a member of CEMA, we should firmly grasp the legal basis of our economic relations with the fraternal countries so as to fulfill our obligations.

The few points raised above are enough to show that we still have to formulate several series of laws and regulations.

Building a legal system, however, does not mean that a considerable number of legal documents must be issued. Instead, this task requires that the /quality/ of such a system be ensured by carefully evaluating and selecting the most practical legislation possible, and that no basic issues be overlooked if their institutionalization is called for by the party's line and policies and by the actual situation of state socioeconomic management work. "This legal system must simultaneously be persuasive and compulsory for the entire society."

(Footnote: Report on Party Building Work by the VCP Central Committee at the Fifth National Party Congress of Delegates, TAP CHI CONG SAN, Issue No 5, 1982, p 46). The contents of our legal system must fully reflect the party's basic viewpoints on socioeconomic management in the new stage (such as its stand that the mode of management based on bureaucratic administrative measures and subsidization be radically abolished, that economization be strictly practiced, the implementation of complex formalities cause no difficulty and trouble to the people in the localities and to the grassroots-level units, that the initiative and creativity of the localities and basic units be promoted, that integration of the three interests be ensured, and so forth). Our legal system must be relatively easy for the common citizens to understand.

/Once a law has been promulgated, the organization of its enforcement assumes an extremely important role./ First of all, to implement legal documents with a general content which is promulgated jointly by various competent state organs, the localities and basic units often request that the ministries concerned /simultaneously issue documents promptly to concretize/ these regulations and /devise plans to guide, assist, follow up and supervise/ the localities and basic units in implementing the laws.

Realities over the past several years have shown that an important reason for the increased incidence of law-breaking has been the failure of many of our cadres, workers, office employees and people to learn enough about the laws and to fully realize their rights, interests and obligations in specific situations. This has inevitably resulted in their contravening the laws and failing to struggle against other people's law-breaking. To enhance the voluntary nature of all people in scrupulously implementing the laws and struggling against law-breaking, all sectors, levels and basic units must pay adequate attention to regularly, widely and profoundly disseminating, propagandizing and educating in laws, to do so, they must use the combined forces of cadres concerned and appropriate means as well as suitable forms of propaganda and educational activities. Active preparations should be made to introduce the /teaching of law/ into general and vocational schools' curricula.

Disseminating, propagandizing and education people in law is an essential measure /to prevent law-breaking./ This measure alone, however, is not enough. To gradually eliminate the causes of and conditions for law-breaking, the organs concerned (such as the judiciary, interior, inspection and control agencies, the courts of law, and so forth) should /work together with various social organizations/ in analyzing the situation, conditions and causes of law-breaking for each specific period of time so as to formulate appropriate preventive measures. These measures may take many different forms and do not always have to be legal measures. For instance, they may be an effort to satisfactorily organize educational work in general schools; to develop and introduce healthy and exciting forms of entertainment into youth and teenagers'

clubs in residential areas; to promote suitable educational methods; to achieve close coordination among the school, the mass organization and the family in educational work, and so forth. Such measures will help create a healthy environment for youths and teenagers in which to live, to study and to play. By promulgating and implementing regulations on the organization and operation of basic units, satisfactorily realizing the working people's collective mastery system, combining the state's control work with the workers' inspection activities, and so forth, we will be able to create an environment conducive to regulated and organized activities at the grassroots level. All these measures can contribute to eradicating the conditions for and causes of law-breaking.

For some time now law-breaking has not been promptly and sternly dealt with. We do not wish to resort to punishment and do not regard it as a measure which should be used frequently. However, once a breach of the law has taken place, measures must definitely be taken to mete out due punishment. The socialist legal system considers /dealing with all breaches of the law, including the slightest ones,/ to be a matter of principle. Simultaneously, it has devised many forms of organizations to deal with penalties and trials. To check, deter and prevent law-breaking, ranging from petty offenses such as violations of daily labor discipline and disturbances of public order to more serious crimes such as robbery, systematic embezzlement of socialist property, bribery, illegal detention of people, speculation and hoarding, trafficking, production of fake merchandise, and so forth, it is important that neither the public security and control officials nor the management and prosecution cadres concerned should ever overlook a case. If the offense is a minor one, its author must be reprimanded, warned or be subject to a small fine; if the crime is serious, the perpetrator must be prosecuted before the law.

Pursuant to the constitution and the law, our state has set up appropriate organizations to deal with law-breaking. The management organs of all sectors, levels and establishments are responsible for dealing with violations of administrative and labor discipline within their jurisdiction. All the interior agencies, the inspection organs, the economic arbitration bodies, the system of people's organs of control and the people's courts are vested with important powers to conduct investigation and inspection and to deal with law-breaking. In the days ahead we will set up people's organizations in various installations to deal with minor offenses and disputes among the people (in accordance with Article 128 of the new constitution. In so doing, we will be /satisfactorily utilizing all forms of organizations dealing with law-breaking/ which already exist or which will be established.

Successfully to apply these measures, we must /have larger contingent of legal cadres/ working in all sectors, localities and installations. These cadres must have good qualities, fine ethics and specialized knowledge of different fields of law (such as economic law, labor law, administrative law, criminal law, civil law, international law, and so forth). They must also be conversant with different fields of work (such as legislation drafting, criminal investigation, trial, legal counseling, jurisprudential research, and so forth). At the same time, the contingent of management and leading cadres must be equipped with adequate legal knowledge.

Over the past few decades we have not yet paid due attention to the question of /training legal cadres and giving legal training to management cadres./ This task has now become an acute problem of considerable significance. First of all, we should consolidate the Hanoi College of Law and turn it into our country's largest training center for legal cadres and a source of legal instructors for other schools. There is now a very great and urgent demand for the training of legal cadres. For this reason, in the immediate future we should concentrate our efforts on opening short-term legal training classes for those cadres who are assigned to do judicial work but who have never attended any law school. Simultaneously, we must create proper conditions for the college of law to open refresher courses and classes by correspondence soon for those legal and management cadres who cannot attend formal, long-term training classes. In the years ahead we should also plan to organize the teaching of law in various schools of administration and the teaching of state and legal affairs in various party schools, beginning with the Nguyen Ai Quoc Advanced Party School.

/Strengthening the party's leadership/ is the most decisive factor in perfecting the law and strengthening the socialist legal system. Since this system is a reflection of the will of the party and the aspirations of the working class and laboring people, strengthening it is not only a state cause but first and foremost a party cause.

In nearly all of their resolutions, after tracing guidelines and laying down tasks, the party Central Committee and its political bureau have always set forth measures, including the strengthening of the socialist legal system, to ensure their implementation.

The party Central Committee has periodically issued resolutions on "special subjects" in which it laid down guidelines, tasks and measures aimed at strengthening the socialist legal system. These resolutions are very important events which have the effect of prompting the people to "live and work according to the constitution and the law" and the state to strengthen the management of society according to the law.

We know that, before they are submitted to the National Assembly of the Council of State for approval, all laws and regulations must be first submitted to the party Central Committee Political Bureau for consideration. To enable the political bureau to carry out this task in a highly effective manner, in the legislation drafting system we should establish a procedure for collecting the opinion of leading party and state organs on major questions of decisive significance to the contents of a bill and the pace of its drafting, such as the definition of the purposes, requirements and scope of a bill, the settlement of differences between various organs concerned with the problem of basic viewpoint, which have slowed down the drafting of a law, and so forth. This opinion collecting must be done throughout the process of researching and drafting a law.

Party leadership is even more important in the implementation of laws. Party members at the grassroots level should uphold their vanguard, exemplary role in respecting and enforcing the law. Our party requests that all party committees, cadres and members "exemplarily implement the constitution and the law

and take the lead in the struggle to strengthen the socialist legal system." ("Political Report by the Party Central Committee at the Fifth National Party Congress of Delegates." TAP CHI CONG SAN, no 4, 1982, p 64) When order and the legal system are upset, the party committees should request even more forcefully that all party cadres and members in any social position scrupulously to abide by the state law. Only under the party's leadership can we build legal organizations and bodies directly to protect the legal system, judiciously and strictly to deal with violations of the law, to carry out measures aimed at propagandizing and educating about the law, to prevent law-breaking, and to struggle against crimes.

Building and strengthening the socialist legal system is a protracted, difficult and complex task. Benefiting from the party's concern and leadership, we will certainly perform this task well.

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THE ISSUE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY IN THE WORLD VIEW OF THE COMMUNIST

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 36-41

[Article by Professor Vu Huu]

[Text] Part I: Do We Live for the Individual or for Society? Why Do We Live and How Should We Live?

These are basic questions concerning world view, questions that man is always raising in life in order to find an answer. Man's attitude toward these questions is the measurement of his level and qualities.

In the past, when a person joined the communist party and began participating in the fight, he faced prison and the guillotine, faced thousands of arduous challenges. Joining the party meant being prepared to sacrifice every private interest, even one's life, love and happiness. Then, there were no worries about the relationship between personal interests and the interests of society. Material and spiritual remuneration were not a problem. Wealth and fame were never an issue. Large or small houses, high or low salaries and so forth were never an issue.

With a simple and pure soul, the communist mingled among the mass of workers and laborers and fought for the interests of the masses. The communist deeply felt that liberating the class and the nation, liberating all mankind and each person was his *raison d'être* and greatest joy.

Over the past 50 years and more, such communists have been the glory of the country, have been the legitimate pride of our party, of our nation.

Together with such communists, our people experienced countless glorious stages, overcame every obstacle and defeated every enemy in order to liberate the country and win back their right of ownership. These tremendous victories were closely linked to the intelligence, the talent and even the flesh and blood of countless communists.

The imperialist prisons, these terrifying hells with their barbarous implements of torture, could not crush the indomitable will of the communists. The Japanese fascists, the French colonialists and the U.S. imperialists with their most modern weapons could not stop communists from fighting alongside the people. None of their deceptions or temptations won them over. They trampled upon every material temptation in order to maintain their spiritual qualities. In combat, they used their own bodies to fill in holes for artillery to pass, to serve as chocks under the wheels of artillery or used their shoulders as supports for guns. Before they ascended the guillotine, they pinned flowers in their hair, sung patriotic songs and still looked at life with confident and optimistic eyes.

Every stage in the revolution has been a stage involving difficulties that have had to be overcome, has been a flame that has further tempered the character and energies of communists. However, each stage in the revolution has also purged the weak and the cowardly. Some persons who recorded achievements in the overt struggle could not endure the torture in prison. Some persons who were steadfast in the face of the enemy's terror fell by the wayside in peace time.

Every stage of the revolution marks a new change in the situation and tasks and demands new awareness and new feelings on the part of the communist. Some persons who have not kept pace with the new requirements of the revolution have fallen by the wayside or fallen behind. Some persons have become obstacles to the forward progress of history.

Always expelling those who are backward and accepting outstanding elements into its corps, this is the law of development of the party, is the inevitable requirement of the revolution.

The 5th Congress of the Party has taken a step in further clarifying the correct line of the party and set forth, on a scientific basis, specific stages of development in each field. We are entering a new stage of the revolution, a stage that has major objectives but which also involves towering difficulties. These difficulties are the inherent difficulties in advancing from small-scale production, the difficulties caused by the enemy and even difficulties caused by our lack of experience in economic management and social management. The Report on Party Building at the 5th Congress of the Party stated: "Our difficulties are many and communists must have the correct attitude toward these difficulties, not harbor illusions or be impetuous, rather, we must clearly recognize the boundary between the two ways of life in order to make every effort, along with the people, to overcome our difficulties, win victory and combat relying upon others, pessimism, irresponsibility and wavering or withdrawing in the face of difficulties." However, in actuality, these difficulties are having more than a minor impact upon those strata of society whose thinking and will are not firm and even upon some cadres and party members.

The brilliant victory won by our people after 30 years of arduous fighting brought back territorial integrity and opened a brilliant horizon for our

independent and free country. However, this major turning point in history so filled with prospects has easily caused many persons to only see the advantages, not fully see the difficulties we face. Families that are well fed and well clothed, children who are educated and the gradual satisfaction of material and cultural needs are only legitimate aspirations in life. However, if there is not a full realization of the tragedies that the enemy caused and is continuing to cause, if there is not a realization of the major shortages that exist in the effort to build the country, it is easy to demand things that cannot be provided in view of the realities of society.

The inevitable difficulties being encountered now have caused a number of persons to become pessimistic and waver. The spiritual decline within these persons has led to negative activities in society. When revolutionary confidence and the enthusiasm for the fight flicker like a dying flame, the soul of man immediately becomes fertile ground for the growth of every weed of poisonous thinking. The selfish and decadent lifestyle that neo-colonialism cultivated for 20 years in the South and which was swept away by the revolution in 1975 has recently shown signs of revival and growth. "Life is absurd." "All spiritual values are illusory!" First, let us satisfy material needs, "live the fast life" and "enjoy everything today"! These arguments are like foul air seeping into the various strata of youths, bewitching and tempting them, causing them to fall by the wayside. When the Marxist-Leninist world view and the communist philosophy of life do not dominate within the mind of man, all of the corruption that ruled the old societies for thousands of years appear as spectors that lead and guide degenerate elements. Desire for fame, wealth and status, jealousy, factionalism, flattering superiors and intimidating subordinates together with all kinds of deception to achieve fame and glory are sometimes evident in public and sometimes secret and concealed.

Various arguments have been put forth to defend negative behavior. According to these persons, man is nothing more than an animal. He must live for himself first; although he knows what society is, he only knows that he must eat if he is hungry, must drink if he is thirsty. Did not Marx himself say: "Man must first of all eat and clothe himself"? According to them, it is truly absurd to demand that man serve society, that he sacrifice himself for the fatherland and mankind. On this basis, they conclude that the individual is above everything else. When discussing the relationship between the interests of the individual and the interests of society, the relationship between the immediate future and the long range and the relationship between material life and spiritual life, they clearly consider personal interests, immediate interests and material interests to be the highest, to be the most practical. According to them, let the "idealists" pursue the "illusion" of spiritual interests, long-range interests, the interests of society and so forth.

The communist's guideline "one for all, all for one" is actually no longer being followed by a number of persons. The guideline controlling the thoughts and behavior of these persons are the corrupt and familiar words of the capitalists: "everyone takes care of himself, God takes care of everyone."

The basic question concerning philosophy of life in the heart of each person is "do I live for myself or live for society?"

## Part II

On the basis of historical materialism, the communist always analyzes specific, objective conditions in order to determine the laws of society and establish his attitude. Class oppression, the suffering of the people, the course that must be taken to liberate them and so forth, these are the practical matters being raised, the matters that must be resolved. The communist does not struggle for the progress of society and the happiness of man on the basis of some ideal that is divorced from reality, but on the basis of reality itself. Each day, everyone must concern himself with the food, clothing and shelter of his family, the education of his children and his own progress. Being concerned with such personal interests is normal. These are not only interests to which the individual must give attention, but they are also interests with which society must be concerned.

Recently, however, due to economic difficulties and shortages in everyday life, many persons have wavered. They are indifferent toward the common interests of society and are only concerned with their own interests. Many negative phenomena have arisen in society. Profiteers, smugglers, persons who steal public property and persons who deceive the masses have illegally enriched themselves and are living in luxury by taking advantage of the shortages being experienced by many persons. Due to the weaknesses on our part in economic management and social management and due to the fact that one place or another has not firmly adhered to the law of socialist distribution, we have significantly prolonged the lack of justice, the lack of punishment regarding criminals and the lack of appropriate treatment for persons who perform a service. This situation has not encouraged or inspired good persons or good work. Conversely, it has not put a stop to decadent behavior in society. The party has issued many directives with a view toward this unfairness. We are struggling to bring to an end the situation in which some persons devote their minds and spirit to working for society and must live a life of deprivation while others who only concern themselves with the interests of their family and look for every way to infringe upon the interests of society live a life of ease. "Those who work much, receive much, those who work little, receive little"; this law of socialism definitely must be respected.

Establishing the correct relationship between personal interests and the interests of the collective and society is a problem that is being faced within every enterprise, every agency and every cooperative as well as within each family and laborer. Personal interests are a real phenomenon, are a practical aspect of each person. To not admit this is to be an idealist, to be subjective; however, the method of resolving this problem varies from one system to another, from one class to another.

Under the capitalist system, the relationship between the personal interests of the laborer and the interests of the bourgeois state, between the interests of the worker and the interests of the capitalist is an antagonistic relationship.

Under the socialist system, on the basis of public ownership by the state and the collective of the main instruments of production, social interests and collective interests are the foundation of personal interests. Personal interests are not opposed to the interests of society and the interests of the collective, rather, they have the interests of society and the interests of the collective as their premise. In our society, the legitimate income of the individual and the living standard of the family can only be raised when the level of social production is raised, when cooperatives have bumper crops, when enterprises complete their tasks. Showing enthusiasm for work and contributing more with each passing day to the collective, to society are caring for the life of one's family and oneself. Incurring a small "loss" for the sake of the interests of the enterprise, of the agency, of the cooperative means nothing more than putting one's long-range interests above one's immediate interests. These people feel pride and happiness over being allowed to serve the interests of society, the interests of their fatherland and the interests of the working class and laboring people, of whom they are a member. They clearly understand that the interests of society are the surest guarantee of their own long-range and noble interests.

The above mentioned fundamentals regarding the communist philosophy of life are not recognized by everyone. As a result, many places have incorrectly established the relationship among the three interests. The interests of the individual have been separated from the interests of the collective and the interests of the collective have been put into opposition with the interests of society. Some persons work for their collective in the way that workers once worked for capitalists. Some persons calculate gains and losses in a very petty manner. They demand that they be given more and more with no regard for how the interests of the collective are violated. Some units have turned primary products of the nation into "discarded products" or used them in business to earn money to be distributed to the "collective." The "collective" here means the collection of individuals who only concern themselves with their own interests and do not take the interests of society into consideration.

Within the relationship among the three interests, only being concerned with one's own individual interests means separating oneself from the foundation of socialism and undermining this foundation. Correctly establishing the relationship among the three interests, the communist shows appropriate concern for each type interest, including the practical interests of the laborer, thereby insuring that those persons who contribute more to society receive more. By means of material incentive and psychological motivation, the communist encourages everyone to complete each work and combat task in the best possible manner so that, on this basis, everyone can realize his legitimate personal interests, bring back happiness to his family and bring honor to himself. This is the socialist fairness for which the communist struggles to bring to the masses. As for himself, however, the communist is not only struggling for this fairness. He struggles for a noble ideal. And, for this reason, he always consciously concerns himself first with the interests of society; he places his personal interests below the interests of society and, when necessary, sacrifices his personal interests for the sake of the interests of society.

### Part III

When a communist degenerates to the point where he only concerns himself with his own material interests and on this basis violates the interests of society, he is no longer a communist.

Carrying out the socialist revolution involves bringing about the greatest turning point in the history of man, abolishing oppression and exploitation for the first time and completely liberating all of society and each person. This extremely difficult task cannot be carried out without persons who possess all the necessary revolutionary qualities and capabilities. When President Ho said "to build socialism, we must first of all have socialists," he was both emphasizing the noble cause of the socialist revolution and demanding that our people, primarily the communists, place the interests of society above their own interests and wholeheartedly serve the revolution. Over the past 50 years and more, the party has educated and forged its members, educated and forged communists in this spirit.

Placing the interests of socialist society above one's own interests, this special characteristic of the communist is not difficult to understand. Because, for a long time, as a result of being educated by the party, communists have inherited and developed to a new qualitative level the fine qualities of the working class and the precious traditions of the nation of Vietnam as well as the fine attributes of mankind. The working class is the class that encompasses persons who can only liberate themselves when they liberate the entire class and the liberation of the class is closely linked to the liberation of mankind. They are the persons who have the least private ownership mentality, who are rich in valor and who are ready to fight tenaciously for common interests.

The people of Vietnam are a people who, throughout their history of several thousand years, have loved and been close to one another in order to combat the destruction of natural disasters and destruction by aggressor armies. Being ready to sacrifice one's life for the fatherland, for one's compatriots, this is the common *raison d'être*, is the prerequisite to the survival of the entire nation.

The beautiful attributes of mankind are primary evident in the social nature of man. As a social entity, man can only exist in a close and constant relationship with society, a relationship in which he is a cell within the body of society. Man does everything from satisfying his material and spiritual needs to thinking and acting on the basis of society and is, himself, a product of society.

Formed and developed on the basis of the special characteristics mentioned above, communists have long struggled for the cause of liberating the working class, liberating the nation and liberating mankind. And, today, Vietnamese communists consider socialist society to be themselves. To them, serving socialist society is the *raison d'être*, is a source of glory and happiness. Society with classes

created the corruption of man and separated the nature of man from man himself. The classes of exploiters treated persons who should have love for one another the way wolves act toward persons. For the sake of personal interests, they have enslaved entire societies. In the name of "society," they have oppressed and exploited other individuals. For this reason, they, themselves, no longer possess human attributes. The laboring people have even been deprived of minimum human living conditions. Working strenuously for others, living in a society filled with injustice and unable to develop themselves, the laborers in the old society can no longer understand their *raison d'être*. Their honor is always being trampled upon and happiness is something that they never even dare think about. The bourgeoisie is always praising the consumer society and drawing everyone into material pleasures. Committing countless crimes in order to obtain money and looking for every way to buy things and satisfy base desires, this is the lifestyle encompassing capitalist society. However, the base lifestyle of these persons never brings happiness. Their schemes and crimes are always destroying the soul. Enjoying oneself night and day cannot erase boredom and sadness. In the end, the selfish lifestyle leads to loneliness, despair, insanity and frustration.

The society that we are building is a totally different society. Here, man, who was once a slave, has now become a master. Whereas everyone once only took care of himself, now it is "one for all, all for one." With the deportment of a collective master, the person in the new society sees his highest happiness in labor, love and that which is right. In the new society, the communist is taking the lead in keeping with this new meaning of life. Working creatively for the sake of one's society, living amidst the love of society and joining society in a continuous effort to develop one's intellect and talents, this is the *raison d'être* controlling the life of the communist in the process of building socialism and communism. This is the highest honor and joy of the communist. With this *raison d'être*, the communist is always optimistic and confident. He overcomes every difficulty in order to struggle for the interests of all society.

Nothing can impede the forward progress of communists.  
No hardship or shortage will cause them to be discouraged.  
No losses will cause them to waver.

Even in the dark fight, whether society knows it or not and regardless of how they are evaluated, communists still proudly move forward.

This is so because the communist considers socialist society to be himself. The interests of society are the basic element of the philosophy of life of the communist.

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## SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BUREAUCRATISM

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[Article by Tran Hong Phong]

[Text] Bureaucratism is the product of the former regime and the offspring of all exploiting classes. Bureaucratism, which remains merely a vestige under the socialist regime, can, however, inflict great harm if we do not struggle resolutely to overcome it.

The struggle against bureaucratism is a part of the struggle to strengthen the socialist state and to develop the right to collective mastery of the laboring people in a bid to actively and creatively build a new society. This is a big and complex problem requiring the coordinated study of many social science sectors such as philosophy, scientific communism, history, psychosociology, the legal system, literature and art, and so forth. As a contribution to the study of that problem, this article will touch upon the following angles:

### I. The Inevitability and Nature of the Struggle Against Bureaucratism

1. Bureaucratism is a historical category closely linked with a class-ridden society; it can be completely eradicated only with socialism and communism.

Under the primitive communist regime, bureaucratism could not develop or take root because the production forces were yet to develop, because no class and state were founded, because there was no distinction between the rich and the poor in society and, as Marx put it, because man still could not break away from the umbilical cord of clannish relations.

Bureaucratism began to take shape when society was divided into classes and continued to expand vigorously to all state organs of the exploiting classes. Under the slavery system, bureaucratic organizations and functions and complicated classes came into existence while colossal bureaucratic machines had emerged in the feudal state. Under the capitalist system, bureaucratism had developed in an extremely sophisticated and complicated manner. Many administrative, police and military networks and organizations, political parties, and management and nonstate organizations of the bourgeoisie were set up. The bourgeoisie had maintained the colossal civilian and military bureaucratic machines to protect its rights to domination and exploitation, as well as to

earn large sums of money, which it could not collect under the forms of profits, income, land rent and service charges. No matter how meticulously the bourgeoisie managed to cover up the nature of its democratic system, this system always remained a bureaucratic system against the people. Lenin said: "The bourgeois parliamentary system is but the combination of a democratic system (not for the people) with a bureaucratic system (against the people)". (V.I. Lenin, Complete Works, Progress Publishing House, Moscow, 1976, vol 35 p 135).

Only with socialism can the proletarian dictatorial state completely eliminate bureaucratism along with other vestiges of the old society in general.

2. Carrying out the struggle against bureaucratism is an objective inevitability stemming from the nature of the proletarian dictatorial state and socialist regime and from the objective requirements of the struggle to build a new regime, a new economy, a new culture, and a new socialist man. Lenin said: "To continue socialist construction, it is imperative to continue to struggle against the bureaucrats". V.I. Lenin, Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1971, vol 29, p 119) And "it is necessary to understand that the struggle against bureaucratism is absolutely essential and is as complex as the struggle against the tendency of spontaneous development of the petty bourgeoisie." (V.I. Lenin, Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, vol 32, p 241)

From the very first days of the October revolution Lenin was quick to discover the "restoration" of bureaucratism in the fields of state management and economic management. Lenin's works: "The State and the Revolution," "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Administration," "How To Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection Board," "Small But Good Is Still Better" and so forth, and the CPSU's resolutions on the issues concerning the struggle against bureaucratism, as well as the Soviet administration's experiences in this struggle, are profound theoretical and practical lessons for us all.

In our country, even during the first years of the Revolutionary Administration (1946-47), President Ho strongly criticized bureaucracy. In his work "Change the Work Methods," President Ho pointed out profoundly the manifestations, the causes and the adverse effects of bureaucratism, as well as the methods of struggling to overcome it. He particularly stressed the need to carry out the struggle against bureaucratism, considering it as a dangerous enemy and an ally of the imperialists and feudalists who seek to destroy us from within.

For the past several decades, our party has always struggled against bureaucratism among the cadres, party members and personnel of state organs. At its Fifth National Congress, the party said: "The present sluggishness in many important fields, especially in the economic field, is deeply rooted in subjectivism, conservatism and bureaucratism. Bureaucratism causes serious bottlenecks in the apparatus; it prevents cadres from getting in touch with the problems of reality, maintaining close relations with the basic units and listening to the views of party members and the masses at the grassroots level. Thus, it causes the organs at the upper echelons to become unresponsive to

reality. ("Report on Party Building Work by the Party Central Committee at the Fifth National Congress of Delegates," TAP CHI CONG SAN, May 1982 issue, p 28). Therefore, resolutely struggling against bureaucratism is one of the most important requirements in overcoming the present sluggishness to advance socialist construction.

3. The struggle against bureaucratism is an imperative, long-term and complex revolutionary campaign which must be carried out on a large scale and in many different domains of social activities.

Lenin had strongly criticized the two erroneous tendencies concerning the nature of the struggle against bureaucratism. The first was the doubt about the Soviet administration's ability to overcome bureaucratism. The second was the anxiety about the hope that bureaucratism could be immediately eliminated with administrative measures. Lenin said: "To suppress bureaucratism, we must conduct a protracted struggle. Persons who think otherwise are merely those who seek to cheat and flatter the people. If we want to vanquish bureaucratism, we must resort to the use of hundreds of measures and eradicate illiteracy completely and make everyone literate and capable of participating in the work of the workers' and peasants' inspection board." (V. I. Lenin, Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, vol 32, p 77)

In view of this, the struggle against bureaucratism is a protracted, complex and difficult struggle. It is not simply an administrative struggle but a revolutionary campaign with significance in many aspects: Political, economic, cultural and social.

In our country, bureaucratism reflects not only the situation in which production is carried out sparingly and scatteringly on a small scale but also reflects the existing powerful influence of the feudal and colonial ruling system. Therefore, it cannot be subdued overnight by a temporarily seething campaign. The more backward the economic and cultural situation is, the longer and more complex and difficult the struggle against bureaucratism will remain.

## II. The Causes of Bureaucratism

There is merely a trace of bureaucratism under the socialist regime. Its existence, however, is shaped by many causes, including those involving socio-economic problems, educational background and economic organizational and managerial knowledge. It is also shaped by ideology, morality, mentality, objectivism and subjectivism.

### 1. Socioeconomic causes:

What are the economic sources of bureaucratism? According to Lenin, it is necessary to distinguish between two major economic sources of bureaucratism. He said: "These sources consist of two types: First, the developed bourgeoisie needs a bureaucratic machinery--first with a military character; then later with a legal nature--to oppose the revolutionary movement of the workers (and also of the peasants). This, however, no longer exists in our country." (V.I. Lenin, the book already referred to, p 456)

So, according to Lenin, the economic base of the bourgeois and feudal bureaucratic system is the system of private ownership of the means of production while bureaucratism is the superstructure of that privately owned economic base. However, when the administration has been taken over by the proletariat and the state machinery of the exploiting class has been eliminated, the system of private ownership--the economic source of bureaucratism--has also been destroyed through the transformation of the old production relations and the establishment and consolidation of the new socialist production relations.

However, the vestiges of bureaucratism found under socialism have their deep economic cause. Lenin wrote: "In our country, the economic cause of bureaucratism is of a different type; it involves the isolation and fragmentation of small producers--their miserable living conditions, their lack of education, the nonexistence of roadways, illiteracy, the nonexistence of exchanges between agriculture and industry, the absence of relations and interreaction between industry and agriculture....bureaucratism--the legacy of "a state of siege" and a superstructure based on the fragmentation and despair of the small producers--has come completely to the fore." (V.I. Lenin: Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, vol 32, pp 456, 457)

Thus, according to Lenin, although socialism has been already established, its economic foundation still remains undeveloped. Added to this economic undevelopment are backwardness in culture and in the organization of management and devastation by war and encirclement. On the other hand, as Lenin said, the masses have become 99-percent familiar with military and political tasks. This is the deep economic cause of the revival of bureaucratism.

The economic cause of bureaucratism in our country also has its own characteristics apart from the common economic characteristics of the transition period. Our country has advanced directly to socialism from a backward agricultural economy characterized chiefly by small-scale production without going through the stage of developed capitalism. Furthermore, it has been subjected to the serious and continuous consequences of war and natural calamities. When the aftermath of a previous war had yet to be overcome, the enemy waged two new wars and is presently conducting sabotage activities against us in many fields. The material-technical bases of socialism still remain weak, and our cultural, scientific and technological knowledge is poor. Meanwhile, we are faced with numerous new and urgent requirements arising from our domestic tasks and international obligations.

## 2. The cause involving the level of organization of management:

Besides the deep economic cause, bureaucratism is also a result of the organization of the apparatus. For instance, the structure of the apparatus is cumbersome and ineffective. Also, the system of individual responsibility and work procedures are unclear.

In the stage of socialist construction, organizational work consists not only of cadre work and party-building work but also encompasses a series of issues concerning the structuring of the national economy; the building of the machinery of state; economic and cultural management; and the establishment of

systems, tasks, functions and authorities for each echelon and each sector in order to ensure the implementation of the political and economic tasks of each period of time.

In our country, since we have not had any experience with large-scale mechanized production and also because of our own subjective shortcomings, the state apparatus, the machinery for economic and cultural management and the machinery for managing production and serving the people's lives have, in many instances, operated with difficulty, looseness, slowness and inefficiency. All this machinery is characterized by bureaucratic centralism, unwieldiness and compartmentalism. It is also fragmented and divided and cannot ensure the centralized and unified management of the central level or the smooth management of the various sectors. It also cannot develop the initiative of the localities and basic units.

Our existing machinery, work procedures, systems and policies cannot meet the requirements of the party's lines, viewpoints and political and economic tasks. One of the important reasons for this is that bureaucratism still remains a serious illness plaguing the machinery.

### 3. The cause involving cultural knowledge, ideology, ethics and mentality.

Coupled with economic backwardness is cultural backwardness; and this is also one of the causes of the birth of bureaucratism. A proletarian dictatorship state is a state by the people; however, to ensure mastery over the state it is essential that the people have a certain level of cultural knowledge. Cultural backwardness not only serves as a good hiding place for bureaucratism and the customs of the old society but it also poses a very big obstacle to the masses in their efforts to participate directly in the management and supervision of the state machinery's activities.

Bureaucratism also has its ideological cause. Objectively, it is the influence of the ideology of the exploitative classes and subjectively, it is individualism.

Bureaucratism is, by nature, the way in which the exploitative classes rule over the laboring masses. After the exploitative classes have been overthrown, the bureaucratic administrative customs of the old regime still continue to influence the leadership attitude and work behavior of a number of party cadres and members, especially those holding high positions of authority. President Ho pointed out that bureaucratism is the product of the old society and since party cadres and members have grown up in that society, they are definitely influenced by its vices. He wrote: "Corruption, waste and bureaucratism are vices left by the old society. They are derived from the pursuit of self-interest and selfishness, and from the system of 'exploitation of man by man'" (Ho Chi Minh: For Independence and Freedom, For Socialism; Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 133).

It is necessary to clearly recognize the heavy vestiges of the feudal and colonial system in our country. Our party cadres and members were, for the most part, born of the petty bourgeoisie and especially of the peasantry because at that time the working class in our country was too small in number.

Peasants formed the basic class of a feudal society and they were under the heavy influence of feudal rule. The feudal system in our country created an oppressive bureaucratic machinery with those in positions of power using their power to blatantly oppress the masses. After our people seized administrative power, our cadres, most of them originally being peasants, were easily unwittingly influenced by the ruling style of colonialism and feudalism.

Bureaucratism also originates from individualism, which is its direct subjective cause. Lenin deeply analyzed the relationship between bureaucratism "and the spontaneous tendency toward petty bourgeoisie" (V.I. Lenin, Complete Works; Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, vol 32, p 241) and vehemently criticized the petty bourgeois tendency to turn Soviet representatives into "parliamentarians" or, in other words, into "bureaucratic" elements with special prerogatives and privileges.

President Ho also wrote: "Individualism will make people shun hardship and difficulties and lure them into corruption, debauchery, wastage and luxury. They crave for fame, seek only material gains and run after positions and power. They are full of conceit, disregard the collective, despise the masses and act arbitrarily and despotically. They alienate themselves from the masses and realities and advocate bureaucratism and commandism" (Ho Chi Minh: On the Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction; Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 230).

### III. Manifestations and Harmful Effects of Bureaucratism

#### 1. Manifestations of bureaucratism:

In the struggle against bureaucracy in Soviet Russia, Lenin and Stalin described the manifestations of bureaucratism generally as follows:

Manifestations in man: Sluggishness in behavior, heavy influence of paperwork, alienation from the masses and reality, lack of honesty and frankness, fear of criticism and supervision, disregard for science and the practical experience of the masses, inability to carry out actual work disregard for party discipline and state law, repression of honest persons, craving for special prerogatives and privileges, and abuse of positions and power in the pursuit of personal interest.

Manifestations in the organization: Cumbersome and ineffective machinery, costly production expenses, impractical and inaccurate plans and projections, unclear personal responsibility, ineffective control and inspection, and lax discipline and systems.

In economically developed countries, bureaucratic persons are, as Lenin put it, like machines, inflexible sticklers who nevertheless work "with sweat on their brows and tears in their eyes."

In our country, bureaucratism has its own special manifestations which are at times blatant, vivid and easily noticeable but at other times, cleverly concealed, unobtrusive and difficult to perceive. The report on party building at the Fifth Party Congress pointed out: "Bureaucratism is manifested in many

fields, but mostly in the establishment of policies and systems, in the organization of the machinery and in the work behavior of cadres" (Report on Party Building of the Party Central Committee to the Fifth National Party Congress of Delegates, TAP CHI CONG SAN, May 1982 issue, p 28).

## 2. Harmful effects of bureaucratism:

Bureaucratism has harmful effects in many fields.

In the political field, it alienates party cadres and members from the masses, weakens the relations between the party and state and the masses, erodes the revolutionary nature of party cadres and members and of the party and state, renders ineffective party lines and policies, and dampens the masses' confidence and revolutionary ardor.

In the organizational field, cumbersome and impotent machinery brings about serious consequences: Failure to correctly assess and resolve problems; the results achieved are not worth the costly expenses; personal responsibility is not developed; manpower and material resources are used wastefully; labor productivity and work efficiency are low; and other negative phenomena also emerge. While the economy remains undeveloped, unwieldy machinery not only constitutes the direct cause of impotence but also results in wastage in many respects, thus making the economy unable to sustain excessively costly production expenses and affecting life, production and distribution.

In the economic field, bureaucratism finds its way into plans and policies for production as well as in distribution and circulation. It is the cause of corruption and waste. Lenin said: "Bureaucratic persons are cunning elements; and many of these bastards are experienced thieves" (V.I. Lenin: Complete Works, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974, vol 35, p 635). President Ho also said: "Bureaucratism is the cause of waste and corruption. Experience shows that corruption and waste surely exist wherever bureaucratism is practiced; and the worse the bureaucratism, the more waste and corruption: (Ho Chi Minh: "Uphold the Sense of Responsibility and Strengthen Economic and Financial Management to Struggle Against Corruption, Waste and Bureaucratism," TAP CHI HOC TAP, September 1962 issue, p 2).

Ideologically, bureaucratism is the cause of subjectivism. It erodes the revolutionary nature of cadres and party members, gradually leading them to degradation and degeneration, diminishes their fighting will, and causes great obstacle to efforts to shape a new type of socialist man.

## IV. Guidelines and Measures for the Struggle to Overcome Bureaucratism

As already mentioned above, bureaucratism originates from many different causes. Therefore, in our struggle to overcome it, we cannot rely only on any simple measure but, as Lenin said, must resort to the use of hundreds of measures. These measures, however, should be studied and tested repeatedly and turned into various systems and laws.

These measures are aimed not only at countering all manifestation of bureaucratism but also at creating favorable conditions in the economic, cultural, social, and ideological fields, and improving the organizational structure and system so that bureaucratism cannot develop or take root.

If we want to overcome bureaucratism, we must adopt simultaneously several measures--ideological, organizational, educational, administrative, legal and economic--and combine counter measures with constructive measures. We must not separate and take any measure lightly.

A. Ideological measures:

Ideological work should be concentrated on making cadres and party members thoroughly understand the party lines and policies and the theory of Marxism-Leninism; constantly improving their knowledge in all aspects--especially in economic organization and management--together with their revolutionary quality and ethics; and, on that basis, correctly strengthening the stands of the working class and the masses. Ideological activities should be carried out with diversified contents under a regular and standardized system and through criticism and self-criticism in order to overcome all manifestations of bureaucratism.

All ideological measures should be focused on making the cadres and party members truly symbolize the new type of socialist man and demonstrate their revolutionary ethics and quality, intellectual standards, and scientific work behavior and methods. All of these, however, must be reflected in their productive labor and other assignments, as well as in fighting.

Meanwhile, efforts must be made to improve the educational background of the masses so that they can acquire the necessary knowledge to participate in the management and supervision of the state machinery's operation.

B. Organizational measures:

To overcome bureaucratism, particular attention must be paid to ensuring that all organizational and managerial structure and system.

It is necessary to set up a uniform organizational structure which can develop the leadership capacity and fighting strength of the party, the management efficiency of the state, and the role of collective mastery of the laboring people in the economic field in particular. Each organization in this structure should have specific political assignments, proper functions, rational machinery, correct operational methods, and sufficient cadres to carry out the tasks entrusted to it.

To develop the combined strength of the system of proletarian dictatorship and to overcome cumbersomeness, deviousness and red tape in management, it is necessary to solve correctly the relations--in the political, economic, cultural and social fields--between the party and the state and various mass organizations; between the central government and the local authorities; between the higher echelons and the lower levels; between one locality or unit or collective and another locality or unit or collective; between individual and collective; and between family and society.

In organizing work, the training and assignment of cadres and the division of labor among them play the most important role. Therefore, it is necessary to constantly improve the quality and ability of cadres and gradually standardize them. Efforts must be made to remove degenerated, undisciplined, irresponsible, corrupt, arrogant and arbitrary cadres who seek to flatter the upper echelons, bully the lower levels, oppress the masses, repress honest persons, and adopt a work style like that of a desk official without paying close attention to their jobs and to the masses.

It is necessary to resolutely streamline the administrative machinery and remove those extra components duplicating other components' and organs' work, and those extra personnel or personnel who do not possess good technical and professional skills or cannot perform their work well. It is also necessary to formulate policies and regulations, ensuring that those selected to be on the staff are fully equipped with professional skills and a sense of responsibility corresponding with the task entrusted to them, and overcome the practice of recruiting personnel at will or in a way characterized by departmentalism, localism, and sectarianism.

#### C. Administrative measures:

In applying administrative measures, we should, on the one hand, make the masses understand the law and various systems and policies so that we can use them as a tool to investigate and prevent all manifestations of bureaucratism while, on the other hand, resolutely taking administrative action against those who have violated the right to collective mastery of the masses, as well as those found to be responsible for all harmful consequences of bureaucratism. It is necessary to note that the adoption of administrative measures is an issue belonging to the dictatorship of the proletariat. To struggle against negativism and to develop positive factors, it is absolutely necessary for the state to resort to the application of administrative measures.

#### D. Economic measures:

To overcome bureaucratism, it is also necessary to pay attention to the adoption of economic measures.

In applying economic measures, we should strive to develop production; improve the material and spiritual life of the masses; promote their right to collective mastery in the economic field, especially at the grassroots level, on the basis of ensuring a balanced combination among the three interests--the interest of the state, the interests of the collective, and the individual interest of the laborers; and improve the socialist production relations constantly. Meanwhile, policies should be formulated promptly for motivation, commendation, punishment and judgement purposes. All good deeds in production and other tasks should be appropriately commended and rewarded while any waste, damage or great loss of socialist property caused by bureaucratism and irresponsibility should be severely punished in accordance with the law.

Struggling against bureaucratism is an important and long-term task for our party and state and all sectors and echelons. Despite its many basic advantages,

this struggle is still rife with difficulties and complexities. However, during the transitional period to socialism, the struggle against bureaucratism, or against all manifestations of negativism, cannot be separated from the class struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths. Under socialism, all manifestations of negativism are always linked with the illegitimate interests of a handful of people. Objectively, all manifestations of negativism are favorable to our enemy, and for this reason, our enemy seeks to encourage and nurture these manifestations.

Therefore, in order to carry out this task successfully, we must profoundly understand the position and significance of this struggle. We must be thoroughly aware that this struggle is aimed at developing the right to collective mastery of the laboring people, preserving and promoting the revolutionary quality of cadres and party members, safeguarding the prestige of the party and the state, and making all party and state and mass organizations pure and strong, thus helping to advance the cause of socialist construction and national defense.

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CONCERNING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT  
AT THIS TIME

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 51-56

[Article by Le Xuan Vu]

[Text] The economy and culture are inherently inseparable. Every society, every person has their own economic life and cultural life. We are building socialism in order to meet the material and cultural needs of the people better with each passing day. Socialist construction in our country not only has the purpose of building the new system, the new economy, but also establishing the new culture and molding the new man by simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. These three revolutions are closely linked to one another, have an impact upon one another, stimulate one another's development and create a combined strength leading our country directly from small-scale production to socialism. The system of collective ownership, the system of large-scale socialist production, the new culture and the new man, the entirety of socialism as well as each component of socialism can only be established by means of the combined results of the entire socialist revolution.

On the basis of this viewpoint, it can easily be seen that the development of the socialist economy and the development of the socialist culture are always organically linked to each other; in our country, even in this first stage of the period of transition to socialism, there must be a certain balance and smooth coordination between economic development and cultural development in order to achieve the desired results.

The economy is the infrastructure of society. Due to numerous objective and subjective causes, our country's economy is encountering large and acute difficulties: production does not meet the consumer needs of society, the gross social product is very low and the structure of the gross social product is seriously imbalanced compared to needs. The state of our country's economy demands that we bring about a fundamental change, that we "attach particular importance to leading the economy: the entire party must delve deeply into the economic front, improve its style of economic leadership, improve its ability to

lead the economy and improve the results of economic leadership."(1) This is entirely correct. However, this does not mean that we can postpone, give light attention to or be lax with regard to cultural development.

Can we, at this time, think that cultural work is not important, is not pressing in the face of the pressing and most essential needs of our material life? Facts clearly indicate that we cannot. The struggle against the infiltration, resurrection and counter-attack of the bourgeois, neo-colonialist, reactionary and decadent culture in 1980 and 1981 prove this. In the areas along the northern border of our country, our cultural and information activities are still weak; meanwhile, the enemy is trying to overwhelm us with psychological warfare goods and loudspeakers, presents, leaflets and so forth; is this not a pressing issue? Only 20 to 30 percent of general school students and 20 percent of supplementary education students possess average (actual) qualifications or higher; each year, hundreds of thousands of general school, vocational middle school and college students graduate but cannot play their proper role in society; the quality of education has declined in all educational sectors and all areas: culture, science, technology, political ideals and socialist ethics, which must be considered a serious problems. Because, it is clear that "the entire educational system is not properly preparing the young generation in terms of personal qualities and abilities for productive labor, for the struggle to build socialism and fulfill the obligation to defend the fatherland as masters who possess the necessary practical skills and occupational qualifications to support the development and transformation of the economy and culture, the strengthening of the national defense system and the maintenance of political security and social order and safety."(2) Did not the deviations that appeared in literature and art in 1979 and 1980, which involved foresaking the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the literature and art line of the party, have an adverse impact upon some writers, artists, intellectuals and students who have many concerns about life?

Correctly speaking, on the cultural front, we have recorded numerous achievements in education as well as in literature, art, mass information, public health, physical culture, sports, etc. However, the shortcomings and weaknesses in the leadership and management of the culture, which are generally not as readily noticed or as much of a day to day concern as are the shortcomings and weaknesses on the economic front--are actually not minor shortcomings and weaknesses. The objectives of socialism are not only to satisfy the material needs, but also satisfy the cultural needs of each member of society; however, we have not researched the cultural needs of the various strata of our people in the new stage, needs which are, at present, very large and varied, which are, generally speaking, wholesome and reasonable needs, in order to meet these needs and provide guidance. For example, which musical needs of youths do we meet, which musical tapes from foreign countries do we denounce and which do we present on television? Some problems are the result of the lack of a unanimous point of view, consequently, guidance has not been clear or consistent from the central level to the various localities. For example, a play that has been released by the authorized agencies on the central level for public performance is banned by a certain province,

thereby causing questions to be raised by the entire troop of performers as well as the persons waiting to see the play. Some places that are said to be paying attention to culture actually only have one opera unit or several old record players; there are even cases of developing only those aspects of the culture that the local leaders like instead of adopting a complete plan concerning the cultural and spiritual lives of the people within the area.

The regrettable phenomena mentioned above are partially due to a lack of necessary specialized knowledge concerning the culture and a lack of a clear understanding of what culture is; however, in the final analysis, they are primarily and more importantly due to the following incorrect concept: let us perform economic work first and perform whatever cultural work we can, as the economy develops, the culture will develop along with it. In essence, this attitude separates the economy and the culture, reflects a lack of understanding of the dialectical relationship among the three revolutions, namely, that they must be carried out simultaneously within the socialist revolution in our country and reflects the failure to fully realize the role of subjective factors in the socialist revolution.

Engels often criticized the economic materialists: "According to the materialist view of history, the determining factors in history are, in the final analysis, the production and reproduction of real life. Marx never asserted more. Consequently, anyone who distorts this sentence to mean that the economic factor is the sole determining factor turns this sentence into an empty, abstract and meaningless one. The economic situation is the foundation but every other factor of the superstructure (...) also influences the process of historical struggles and, in many cases, are of primary importance in determining the form of these struggles..."(3) President Ho also said: "To build socialism, we must first of all have socialists." It was in the spirit of these words and with a full awareness of the extremely important role of subjective factors in socialist construction, especially in our country, that the 4th Congress of the Party asserted: "The circumstances of our country demand and permit that we gradually mold, at an early date, the new man without waiting until the system of large-scale socialist production has reached a high level of development."(4) The 5th Congress of the Party again stressed that "the building of the new culture and the molding of the new man can and must be gradually carried out beginning immediately. In the immediate stage, objective and subjective conditions permit us to begin to create a society that is beautiful in terms of its lifestyle, in terms of the relationships among persons, a society in which the laboring people feel that they are living happy lives even though their material conditions might not be highly developed. Because, as the 4th Congress of the Party very correctly pointed out, the level of cultural development of society is not automatically dependent upon the level of economic development."(5) The new culture and the new man in the socialist revolution in our country are both objectives and moving forces. The purposes of cultural development are not only to meet the cultural needs of the people, but also and primarily to stimulate, to support the development of the economy. Whereas the new system and the new economy have a decisive influence upon the formation of the new culture and the

new man, the victory of the building of the new culture and the molding of the new man has a strong impact upon the rate and results of the building of the new system, the new economy. Therefore, economic development absolutely must go hand in hand with cultural development. The ideological and cultural revolution is a long process of change but must be carried out in a continuous and planned manner from the very first stage of the period of transition.

The new culture and the new socialist man are not formed in a spontaneous manner, rather, they must be built and molded in a positive fashion. We do not worship the theory of spontaneity and oppose economic materialism. However, it would also be incorrect to maintain that we can establish the new culture and mold the new, socialist man in accordance with the subjective desires of man with no regard for the level of development of the economy, with no regard for economic factors, which, in the final analysis, are still the determining factors, are still the factors of development that are the indispensable elements within all the factors of the superstructure. All the documents of the party at the 4th and 5th Congress discussed the possibility and the need to begin building the new culture and molding the new man today; however, the new culture must be built and the new man must be molded "gradually" and "one step at a time" without waiting until the economy reaches a high level of development; however, this does not mean that economic development is entirely unnecessary." In the immediate stage, objective and subjective conditions permit us to begin to create a society that is beautiful in terms of its lifestyle, in terms of the relationships among persons..."(6)

The line of the party is revolutionary in nature and scientific in nature. We must clearly understand this fact; we must be clearly aware of the final objective and, at the same time, clearly see each stage in the course that we are following without separating the ultimate objective from each specific stage or confusing the two.

We must clearly distinguish among the different stages and alertly research their changing conditions; however, this absolutely does not mean postponing the ultimate objective or slowing our advance, rather, the purpose is to see how our country's circumstances demand and permit that we build the new culture and mold the new man gradually and beginning at an early date, see to which degree objective and subjective conditions permit us to build the new culture and mold the new man in this first stage of the period of transition.

Rejecting ordinary materialism, taking into consideration the reciprocal impact between cause and effect, which can cause each other to evolve and are not rigid opposites, and taking into consideration the impact of progressive thinking upon the development of society, upon the awareness, the initiative and creativity of the masses in the socialist revolution, we can, generally speaking, accelerate the development of the ideological and cultural revolution compared to the state of development of economic life. However, there are inevitable limits to how far ahead the culture can be developed compared to the economy. To define this

limit, it is necessary to have scientific planning and balance. For example, at present and in the years ahead, how much can and must our country's economy support the development of education, the development of the popularization of education and still maintain the quality of education in accordance with training objectives? In cultural work, attention must also be given to the availability of paper, photographic film, musical instruments, radios, televisions, movies and other special purpose machines, theaters, movie halls, cultural halls, training schools, etc. Material bases and technical means are necessary for the development of culture, for bringing culture to the people and the people to culture. We should not think that cultural activities are merely spiritual activities and not give any thought whatsoever to materials or money. Of course, we cannot rely only upon the budget of the state. We must follow the guideline of the state and the people working together, the central level and the locality working together, must tap the initiative and mobilize material contributions by the masses, must make full use of the sources of revenue from cultural activities in order to expand these activities, organize the popularization of education, culture, and art by the work-study method, etc. However, at this time, we still do not have the conditions needed to build a several thousand seat cultural hall within each district, for example. But we cannot make the excuse that money is needed to expand cultural activities, "use culture to support culture" and pursue business revenues, emphasize base tastes and give light attention to content and quality of culture.

In the molding of the new man and the new lifestyle, we can and must make the greatest possible use of the impact of progressive thinking, the popular cultural tradition of the nation and directly mobilize, to the greatest degree possible, the subjective dynamism of each person, which, from the point of view of all of society, is also limited. The thinking of persons can be ahead of their times; however, progressive thinking only lies in progressive persons while social consciousness, generally speaking, lags behind the realities of society. We cannot set requirements that are too high and demand that all of society or the majority of its members be ahead of their times. We are actively molding the new man and the new, beautiful lifestyle in order to develop more and more progressive persons, not to continue the present state of the economy in which there are "persons who are poor but maintain their integrity" and also persons who "are hungry and steal food, lack money and act ruthlessly," even persons who are not hungry and steal food, persons who do not lack money and still act ruthlessly. This is "because our society has only entered the period of transition; therefore, besides the new, socialist persons who are being formed, besides the new, progressive aspects blossoming within persons, there are also more than a few negative and unwholesome phenomena."(?) A high standard of living does not necessarily create a beautiful lifestyle; however, the style of life cannot be totally separated from the standard of living. In the final analysis, the formation of a social consciousness is governed by its own laws. The material culture is under the impact of the spiritual culture; conversely, however, the spiritual culture can only develop on the basis created by the material culture. Man is the embodiment of each social relationship. "The true richness of the spirit of the

individual is totally dependent upon the richness of their real inter-relationships."(8) We are persons who are activists. We believe that man must have an impact upon his circumstances, must "create his circumstances," "must make circumstances suit the nature of man"; however, we also recognize that circumstances also have an impact upon man, that "to the degree that man creates his circumstances, circumstances create man to the same degree"(9), that "the character of man is created by circumstances."(10) Therefore, even here we must always direct our efforts directly toward one objective but we should not be impetuous, should not seek perfection and should not harbor grand illusions as a result of which we become pessimistic and waver when we see that the plans that have been formulated are too large and cannot be implemented, when we see, in the period of transition, especially in the initial stage, that there are still many negative phenomena and persons who not as good and beautiful as we desire in society. The 5th Congress of the Party frequently reminded us: "Cultural and public health activities must be accelerated in a manner consistent with economic requirements and capabilities" and "the acceleration of the effort to build the new culture and mold the new man must very closely comply with the requirements of the revolution and be consistent with economic capabilities in order to better stimulate the building of the new system and the new economy."(11)

The matters presented above permit us to reach the following conclusion: the level of cultural development of society is not automatically dependent upon the level of economic development nor is it totally free of dependency upon the level of economic development; in the effort to build the new culture and mold the new man, it is both possible and necessary to take a step forward compared to the state of economic life but only one step forward in order to effectively maintain the balance, smooth coordination, reciprocal impact and mutual stimulation between economic development and cultural development. How robust and firm this step is depends upon how great our social activism is and upon how correct, skillful and decisive our methods of working are, that is, how we use conditions and capabilities to mold persons. This work demands that we concretize the line on economic development and the line on cultural development of the party not only on a nationwide level, on the level of the entire culture, but also within each locality, in each field of activity and in each area of the cultural life of society (such as education, science-technology, literature and art, ethics, customs, habits, etc.). We must "adopt a very good plan for developing the economy and the culture with a view toward continuously improving the life of the people"(12), with efforts in the immediate future directed toward meeting the most pressing and essential needs regarding food, clothing, shelter, transportation, health care and so forth to insure that every installation "has a cultural life" as stated by the 5th Congress of the Party.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress of the Party, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 82.
2. Ibid., p 55.

3. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, Volume II, p 795.
4. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1966, p 64.
5. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress of the Party, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, p 54.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p 53
8. Marx and Engels: "Feuerbach," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 51.
9. Marx and Engels: "Feuerbach,"....p 54.
10. K. Marx and F. Engels: "The Sacred Family," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, p 222.
11. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 5th Congress of the Party, TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 4-1982, pp 36 and 52.
12. The Testament of President Ho Chi Minh.

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BOOK REVIEW: THE 'BROCHURE' OF THE WRITER AND ARTIST

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 57-61

[Article by Nhat Van]

[Text] The book "Culture and Art Are Also a Front" published by Van Hoc Publishing House late in 1981 consists of speeches and articles delivered and written by President Ho Chi Minh from the 1920's until he passed away.

Having read this entire book, we can easily see that President Ho creatively applied the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism concerning literature and art to the specific conditions of Vietnam and that his line on literature and art was also the party's line on literature and art. Over the past 35 years the articles and speeches of President Ho Chi Minh concerning culture, literature and art have established guidelines and objectives for literature and art. They are the compass guiding the actions of writers and journalists. Under the light of the literature and art line of our party, many of us have matured and recorded significant achievements. At times when storms arise on the literature and art front, storms that would cause the weak-willed to turn back, all we need do is recall the warm and love-filled words of advice and instruction of Uncle Ho and we suddenly see a calm horizon before us. Therefore, it can be said that this book is the "brochure" of writers and artists.

This "brochure" is miraculous but is not mystical to the point where everything is clear and easily understood. We must know how to use this brochure and, of course, not everyone uses it in an effective manner. For example, to persons who do not possess revolutionary awareness, persons who do not share our view or way of thinking and even have a view and way of thinking that are opposed to us, the statements in the book that are the easiest for us to understand are the most difficult for them to understand. This can be clearly seen if we recall the early days of the revolution. Page 349 of the book reads: "Culture and art are also a front. They (painters) are soldiers on this front. As do other soldiers, the soldier of art has a specific task: to serve the war of resistance, serve the fatherland, serve the people, primarily workers, peasants and soldiers..." The final sentence on the page reads: "Culture and art, as is the case with every other activity, cannot stand outside but must be part of the economy and politics." We must study all of these sentences many times in order to understand

them clearly and must participate in the struggles against those who would do the opposite in order to truly feel what we understand. Here, again, we often encounter statements that propound broad principles without substance stating that because the activities involved in culture, literature and art are a kind of complex, subtle activity, they cannot be made to fit pre-cast molds but must, instead, provide some room for the creativity and freedom of writers and artists. "This turns the special into the ordinary." The "special" here is that the writer and artist must be a revolutionary, must be a revolutionary fighter. The "special" here is Leninism, "the most genuine, the most dependable, the most revolutionary of philosophies." Therefore, when, in reading a book, we see that additional clarification of some points is needed, we must examine these points under the light of what Lenin had to say about them, under the light of what books on Marxist-Leninist aesthetics have to say about them, not under the light of any other books. All other books are alien, are "strange writings," are not the classics. On the other hand, when examining the classics, we also must be careful or we might commit the mistakes of "dogmatism or revisionism." This is clearly pointed out on page 62: "We must uphold the style of independent thinking and free thinking. When reading a document, we must delve deeply into it, gain a thorough understanding of it and not blindly accept each sentence within it or boldly present and discuss matters that are not yet clearly understood. We must ask the question 'why' concerning every issue." We must think deeply and determine whether the point in question is consistent with reality, whether is is truly reasonable or not and absolutely should not blindly agree with everything contained within books. We must think in a mature manner." Finally, we must know how to distinguish this "brochure" from fake "brochures." The most effective way to make this distinction is to know the person who wrote the book. Concerning this point, the Appendix provides us with much important information. We see what President Ho said about what he did. The things that he did proved what he said. Throughout his life, President Ho Chi Minh used his pen as an effective weapon to teach, explain to, motivate and rally the masses to arise in revolutionary struggle and, at the same time, to strongly denounce the enemies of the nation, of the people.

Now, with this "brochure" in our hands, let us review a few matters regarding literature and art in the recent past, matters that have consumed much paper and ink, to see what this brochure says about them and how it tells us to deal with them.

To begin with, there is the matter of the world view of the author and the "objective significance" of the work; which is more important? Today, among us, "is there inconsistency between ideological motives and the results of reflection, on the one hand, and the objective significance of the work, on the other hand?" When evaluating a work, should we examine the motive of the author? Are "results more important than motive"? Of utmost importance is the need to "determine whose interests the work benefits, does it benefit the interest of the masses, of the revolution" or not?

Opening the "brochure," we see that no one paid as much attention to the impact of a work upon the masses, upon the revolution as President Ho Chi Minh did. This

can be easily seen in all pages of the book, from his writings in 1925 (page 37) to his writings in 1968 (page 406). This is not at all difficult to understand. He established for himself the task of insuring that the entire nation was liberated and he used books and newspapers as a means to propagandize, educate and "awaken" our compatriots so that, once they have been awakened, they arise and unite together in carrying out the revolution." He wanted us to do as he did. Moreover, when he said that "a newspaper article is an edict" and "literature is a weapon," he was thinking about the impact of this edict, of this weapon upon the masses, upon the revolution. However, what he said first and what he always reminded us of was that writers and artists must study Marxism-Leninism, cultivate their stand and viewpoints, study politics and be close to the laboring masses in order to develop a correct world view and, on this basis, write in a manner that has an impact upon the masses, upon the revolution. Because, those factors that determine the impact of a work are the world view, the thinking, the will and the motive of the author. An artistic creative project that is faithful to life, that has an impact upon life is always a project created in a conscious manner. Writers and artists must always ask themselves "why am I doing this project," that is, they must be conscious of the content, the objective and the tendency represented by the project on which they are working. Genuine art cannot emerge from a fraudulent world view. Great works of art always originate in humanist thinking, in confidence in life, in a decisive attitude toward that which is inhumane and unjust and in a thirst for a fair and progressive future. We use the term "objective significance" primarily with regard to classical works because, in the world view of the writers of bygone times, there were strengths and weaknesses, there were both progressive and backward aspects. The strengths and progressive aspects of their works were closely linked to the strengths and the progressive aspects of their world view; conversely, the weaknesses and backward aspects of their works were also organically linked to the weaknesses and backward aspects of their world view. However, today, with us, persons who voluntarily create works of art under the line of our party, the most important need is not to talk about the "objective significance" of a work, but about its "subjective" significance, that is, the ideological motive determined by the world view of the author.

Secondly, there is the matter of describing negative phenomena. To us, the description of negative phenomena must express good will in the effort to abolish that which is bad and build that which is good. In the "brochure," President Ho Chi Minh speaks at great length about individualism and expresses the desire to eradicate it so that the light of the new ethics can be seen. At one point, he speaks in a very detailed fashion: "The living conditions of our people are better than they once were, our cadres live and eat better and travel to work on bicycles and even in automobiles. However, some persons, forgetting the bad times, have allowed individualism to develop within them. Now that they have an automobile, they are 'struggling' to get a more beautiful one and take things that belong to others. Once they have a house, they 'struggle' in the same way to obtain a more beautiful house..." The kind of individualism described above has recently "exploded" in a serious manner. Thus, how should writers describe this negative phenomenon within society? Should they face it squarely and tell

the truth or not? Of course, they should. Once an incision has been made to remove a cancer, a person must be bold enough to insert the scaple and cut the cancer out. However, of utmost importance is the need to insure that the heart of the patient on the operating table continues to beat and that the healthy cells in the body play the positive role of healing the incision and overcoming the pain that must be endured.

Honestly speaking, plays, short stories and poems describing negative phenomena in the past have upset public opinion and not pleased us. The authors were not malicious but they presented to us a dark picture that caused readers to feel discouraged and helpless, caused everyone to feel powerless in the face of the gradually encroaching negative phenomena. After reading their works, we became more disappointed the more we thought about them. We rebuke writers who are very indifferent, very cruel and do not look at life in a more optimistic manner, with stronger confidence in man, in the truth, in the future. Such was the case with a certain play. The play had two characters, A. and B. Although there were two characters, they were actually one, were actually a dual character with a "positive" side and a backward side. One character was a person who long ago struggled for a noble objective but who, today, is quite the opposite and has become a base, calculating person who wants to live a quiet, stable life and who does not dare struggle with himself, with the masses. He, himself, admits this from the start to the end of the play. He also admits that he is a "rotting corpse." This is character A., the symbol of the "positive side." B., on the other hand, is the embodiment of individualism but is not naive or stupid. He very clearly understands the person facing him and also very clearly understands his own fate. Therefore, from the start to the end of the play, B. is always on the offensive while A. is always resisting, resisting in a very feeble manner. Yet, in the end, when A. develops some courage and demands to bury B., B. asks A.: "Let me ask you, does that part of you which is still alive have the strength and courage to bury that part of you that has died?" It did not. Was any part of A. still alive? A. was already a corpse!

In summary, the play put on stage a decadent character who returned to his old individualism, wanted to select a shrewd style of life that was abreast of his time, avoided responsibility, dared not express his thinking concerning that which is bad, dared not criticize himself or others and who used boastful talk to conceal his true pain, namely, that he had no confidence in man, in life, in ideals. The intention of the author was clearly to criticize and eradicate individualism but his effort had the opposite effect. The negative factors came to the fore, overpowered everything and the play created a night so dark that nothing could be seen. This is truly different from the spirit of optimism of President Ho Chi Minh. On page 418 of the "brochure," we find the following passage:

"Everyone has good and evil in his heart. We must know how to make the good within everyone blossom like a flower in the spring and how to make the bad gradually disappear, this is the attitude of the revolutionary. With the exception

of those persons who betray the fatherland and the people, we must help persons who have bad habits make progress by causing the good within them to blossom in order to push back the evil within them, not smash it to pieces..." And, he also showed us how to do this: "Using examples of good persons and good work to teach one another each day is one of the best ways to build the party, build the revolutionary organizations, mold the new man and build the new life." This optimistic spirit emanated from all of his speeches and writings, from his style and brought firm confidence to pessimists. Therefore, describing the negative in order to struggle against it while bringing optimism to the reader primarily is a matter of the attitude and responsibility of the writer and artist toward the revolution, not a matter of concealing the negative, putting a positive ending on it or describing half of one thing, half of another. This attitude must be a zealous and knowledgeable attitude and this responsibility must be the responsibility of the soldier who picks up a pen. They will permeate the content of the work.

Recently, there has also been the matter of opposing brevity, opposing the use of formulas, which is a matter that has also been discussed at great length by readers. Of course, everyone sympathizes with this. Everyone demands that writers and artists constantly raise the artistic nature of their works and insure the honesty of their descriptions of social phenomena. However, we cannot sympathize when a person places the artistic nature of a work in opposition to its lofty nature, places the honest nature of a work in opposition to the party nature of a work. This is contrary to the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh. It is an unintentional return to the theories of "art for art's sake" and "pure art," a return to Alienism, both old and new, an unintentional opposition to describing positive factors and heroic characters, to the tendency to select positive phenomena in life as the basis for praising zeal in combat and labor, stimulating enthusiasm on the part of everyone and appealing to everyone to make progress. President Ho Chi Minh always advised writers and artists to "present the great achievements of ours in the war of resistance and national construction" and "present brilliant examples." In his speech at the 3rd National Congress on Literature and Art (1962), he sorrowfully said: "In Vietnam, we have extremely glorious stories to be told and extremely brave soldiers. The same is true in the fraternal countries within the great socialist family. The masses are awaiting works of art that are worthy of our glorious times, works that honestly praise new persons and new work not only for the purpose of setting examples for us to follow today, but also for the purpose of teaching our future generations..." Clearly, he never placed that which is lofty in opposition to that which is beautiful, never placed honesty in opposition to the nature of the party. The nature of the party is never in contradiction with reality. The party has no other truth than the objective truth of life. Only by taking the stand of the party is it possible to reflect reality in a manner consistent with truth, consistent with the ideals that we must seek to achieve. Therefore, saying that "the lofty will negatively influence beauty," that the reason why works are brief, are based on formulas and "lack realism" is because the author "is concerned with conformity" and is "practicing conformist realism" is stupid.

In fact, maladies such as brevity and basing works on formulas are related to the talents and attitudes of writers. These are qualities that cannot be sold, cannot be bought, cannot be created to suit the desires of everyone. Therefore, a person cannot become a writer or artist if he does not possess sensitivity, does not possess strong feelings, is not a keen observer, does not possess a vivid imagination, does not possess sharp intuition and does not possess his own style. Not all writers possess the full sum of these qualities, consequently, in every stage and in every system of literature and art, the number of abridged works and works based on formulas is higher than the number of "unparalleled works," "works of stature." Wherever there are only writers who write about heroic characters and writers "who are concerned with conformity," there will be works that lack an artistic nature, works that lack realism, works that are abridged and based on formulas. Concerning this matter, Pham Van Dong once said: "To work in literature and art, one must possess aptitude and talent. I think that it is very difficult for us to act within this special field, within the field of literature and art, without talent and aptitude. In another trade, a person can perform his work without talent. However, it is very difficult to succeed in literature and art without talent. I do not know if I am correct or not but, in my opinion, if you do not possess any special talent, you should find another job and not work in the very difficult field of literature and art." He related a humorous story and then repeated: "Persons who possess no talent should find a job different than literature and art." This is the special prescription for the maladies of writing abridged works, writing works based on formulas and so forth.

The above are only matters of a typical nature. Actually, many similar matters have arisen in recent years. A person conducting a review would see that whenever the revolution changes, whenever there is an arduous, fierce war, whenever the situation at home is difficult or whenever there are major upheavals in the world that cause people to waver and lose their confidence, reverberations occur in literature and art. However, we can avoid every mistake if we follow the instructions of page 406 of the "brochure": "I want democratic debate; if you have an opinion that is contrary to mine, bring it up and we shall debate it and reach agreement as this is the only way we can perform the job at hand well. You should not record whatever I say in a notebook when you are not truly clear about it in your heart and then not perform the job at hand or perform it in a perfunctory manner."

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## UNDENIABLE BETRAYAL

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 62-67, 70

[Article by Thanh Tin; passages between single slantlines denote boldface and double slantlines denote italics as published]

[Text] The Chinese leaders' betrayal of Vietnam is currently a topic for wide discussion in research and study bodies of various socialist countries and communist parties throughout the world. It also is the subject of study of many sociologists in capitalist countries.

/A Useful Book/

In early 1979, at the moment when the Beijing expansionist ringleaders sent their troops across the border to invade Vietnam's six northern provinces, a book was published in Paris. Titled //China and the Settlement of the First Indochina War// (Geneva 1954), it captured the attention of a vast readership. Its publisher was //The Institute for the Study of History of Modern International Relations// of //The University of Sorbonne//, a famous higher learning center in Paris. With this study, its author //Francois Joyaux//, a doctor of literature, intended to obtain a doctoral degree in history.

To write the book, the author devoted painstaking efforts to documentary research. His main sources of documents were the secret files of the French foreign ministry archival service, the complete minutes of the bilateral meetings between France and China in Geneva, confidential cables from the French delegation to its government, the minutes of various sessions of the Geneva Conference, secret cables from the heads of the French diplomatic missions in the countries which participated in the Geneva Conference, and a series of memoirs of many figures who played a prominent role at the conference or in the Indochina War. The author also drew from valuable documents contained in many other books.

In the appendix, Francois Joyaux presented a "Chronology of Major Events," in which the Chinese delegation's daily activities in Geneva from 21 April to 23 July 1954 were recorded, to further illustrate the intentions, aims, schemes, tricks and activities of Chinese diplomacy throughout those 90 stormy days.

Despite its limitations, such as the lack of documents on some questions, the absence of a truly scientific methodology in research work, and some not

totally accurate appraisals, this book is a serious and useful study. It constitutes yet another scientific demonstration of the Beijing leadership's undeniable betrayal of the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples. It is also a fresh, scientific substantiation of the expansionist and hegemonist nature of the Maoists who are betraying the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people themselves.

#### /When Big-Nation Chauvinism Labels Itself as Proletarian Internationalism/

The 1954 Geneva Conference was convened to resolve the burning problems of the Indochina War. This was a war of aggression waged by the French colonialist administration and which was being defeated. This also was a war for liberation fought by the Vietnamese people in solidarity with the Lao and Kampuchean people and which was achieving victory. It was the repeated victories of the Vietnamese revolution which led to the convening of the conference.

In Geneva, if the Chinese leaders had conducted themselves in strict accordance with the spirit of pure proletarian internationalism, they should have adopted a revolutionary stand to attack the imperialist forces and should have worked in close coordination with Vietnam to accomplish at the conference table gains which were at least commensurate with the relative positions and forces on the battlefields, when the Vietnamese armed forces and people had achieved overwhelming superiority over the French expeditionary corps and the puppet army; when the striking and resounding victory at Dien Bien Phu was driving the enemy into passivity and forcing him to consider withdrawal from many vital areas in the Bac Bo Delta, the central part of Trung Bo, northern Laos, the central highlands and even in the Nam Bo Delta; and when the French political circles buckled under the blows and were compelled to seek peace at any price.

However, the then Chinese leaders thought and acted completely differently. According to Francois Joyaux's study, they only had China's own interests in mind, were mindful only of the fact that their country was being accepted in Geneva as one of the five great powers, and thus sought only to settle the Indochina War according to China's political objectives. These objectives were: To maintain the French presence in Indochina to prevent U.S. intervention in this region; to perpetuate the existence of the Saigon puppet administration on a part of Vietnamese territory and to maintain the puppet regimes in Laos and Kampuchea; to prevent the Vietnamese revolution from achieving complete victory, thereby perpetuating the partition of Vietnam, forcing North Vietnam into a position in which it would have to receive multifaceted assistance from and thus to depend on China....

Basing himself on a wealth of facts and documents, Francois Joyaux remarked: // "The Beijing Government shrewdly gave just enough aid to create favorable conditions for the Viet Minh to achieve victory. However, it refrained from offering the front unlimited assistance, fearing this might provoke intervention by the United States or its allies."// (Footnote: In this article, all the passages in italics are quotes from Francois Joyaux's book) The author also observed: // "In the eyes of the Chinese, the French presence in Indochina was not as worrisome as that of the United States. According to this logic, the maintenance of a certain French presence might be the only way to thwart the U.S. threat."//

Organizationally, China sent to Geneva a large delegation which vastly exceeded what it needed for work at the conference. Francois Joyaux revealed that the delegation comprised as many as 200 members and that it completely took over one of the five first-class hotels in Geneva along with seven other large houses for an estimated period of 6 months. To show off China's status as one of the five big powers, // "the Chinese delegation brought everything it needed from Beijing, including magnificent carpets. It set up in Geneva some sort of a national museum." //

Accompanying Zhou Enlai, premier and foreign minister, were Vice Foreign Ministers Li Xunong, Xhang Yanqien and Wang Yaxiang; Vice Foreign Trade Minister Luo Zimin; six heads of departments of the foreign ministry; and hundreds of advisers, specialists, secretaries, interpreters.... Obviously, China went out of its way to create the impression that // "with this diplomatic debut in the international arena almost 5 years after the founding of the PRC, China had become a power, equal to the four other powers already recognized by the world." // An editorial of the Beijing daily RENMIN RIBAO at that time stressed: // "The Geneva Conference is a conference of five big nations, five big powers. The phrase 'five big powers' was used no less than 7 times in the editorial." // It should be remembered that at the time the Geneva Conference was convened, the PRC had not yet won official diplomatic recognition from the Western countries.

Francois Joyaux disclosed that during the conference, the Chinese head delegate, Vice Foreign Trade Minister Luo Zimin and a fairly large number of Chinese economic and trade experts held numerous meetings with various Western delegations and many industrial, business and import-export companies of France, Britain, West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, and so forth, to discuss the problem of quickly increasing economic, trade and investment exchanges. // China's volume of trade with Western Europe stood at \$173 million in 1954; it shot up to \$226 million in 1955 and \$326 million in 1956. //

Francois Joyaux also accurately observed that China fully exploited its position in Geneva to improve relations with a number of countries. For instance, on 17 June 1954 it reached agreement with Britain on establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries; earlier, in late May 1954, it signed an agreement with India on the Tibet problem. It was also in Geneva that China did its best to establish initial contact with the United States through the mediation of the British delegation. The first meeting between Wang Pingnan, general secretary of the Chinese delegation, and Alexis Johnson, U.S. Ambassador to the CSSR, took place in Geneva on 4 June 1954 and was followed by five other meetings. // "China's obvious intention was to consider the Geneva Conference by the Berlin International Conference, namely to discuss the Indochina problem alone." //

To further Beijing's own designs, on 21 June 1954 the Chinese head delegate left Geneva for a tour which led him first to India and Burma, back to Beijing, then to Egypt and back to Geneva again on the afternoon of 12 July. // This 20-day trip was aimed at enhancing China's prestige at the moment it was first admitted into the international arena in Geneva. //

Obviously, the activities of the Chinese delegation in Geneva were not characterized by the spirit of proletarian internationalism and not aimed at aiding the Vietnamese delegation so as to extract the best deal from the imperialist aggressors. On the contrary, all these activities were designed to achieve the main objectives of //promoting the central interests of China as a big power by easing tension in the Far East, a necessary condition for China to develop its economy; removing the danger of U.S. intervention in the Indochina conflict; creating conditions for China to stop being ostracized by the West; proving that China was a power in the international arena; and creating an opportunity for China to begin trade talks with the West.//

#### /A Glaring Betrayal Which Has Gone Down in History/

China imposed its views on the most important provisions of the Geneva agreement, jeopardizing the Vietnamese people's interests and revolutionary struggle. Proof of this sinister and odious betrayal abounds.

In the first closed-door session on 17 May 1954, the Chinese head delegate loudly declared: //All obstacles, whatever their source, are condemnable!//. What was the stand of the Chinese delegation anyway? This malicious statement implied fairly clearly that even "an obstacle" arising from the Vietnamese delegation was condemnable. Moreover, what the Chinese side termed "an obstacle" was the principled attitude of Vietnam, which was determined to achieve at the conference table a victory commensurate with the noble sacrifices of the Vietnamese armed forces and people and with the resounding and overwhelming victories they had won and were winning. China's arrogant, condescending, paternalistic and big-nation attitude was definitely shameful and despicable.

The French side was deeply worried about setting a deadline for holding general elections in Vietnam because //this question would decide the total ability of the Vietnamese state// (meaning the puppet administration) //to put up a political resistance in case elections were called. The French delegation held that 2 years were needed for the Saigon Government to make preparations. The Soviet delegation suggested that, if the June 1955 deadline proposed by the Vietnamese delegation was too early, the "within 1955" formula should be adopted. On 19 July, out of the blue, the Chinese delegation set forth "the proposal that the general elections be postponed for 2 years, until 1956, and that the exact date be agreed upon by the south and north Vietnamese delegations among themselves."// Francois Joyaux remarked: //China's concession was decisively significant; it helped remove the last obstacles. This gesture shed a special light on China's policy in Indochina."//

The demarcation line was a crucial problem. At first, the Vietnamese side proposed the 13th parallel as a basis for negotiations. Later on, on 13 July, it declared that the 16th parallel was acceptable and that it considered this as the last limit. The French side, under the pretext that Laos needed Highway No. 9 as an access to Dong Ha and Quang Tri, rejected the 16th parallel and demanded the 18th parallel as a substitute. On 17 July, //the Chinese head delegate, in a private discussion with Mendes France, head of the French delegation, arbitrarily volunteered the remark that the "the Democratic Republic of Vietnam absolutely does not need Highway No. 9."// Playing the

contemptible role of a stoll pigeon, he whispered to the French that: //If France makes another step toward fixing the demarcation line, Mr Pham Van Dong will also make a much longer step himself"(!)// Thus, France jubilantly declared accepting the 17th parallel, a parallel which obviously failed to reflect the relative positions and forces of the two sides at that juncture; nor did it reflect the overwhelming supremacy of the Vietnamese revolution in the wake of its victories at Dien Bien Phu and on other battlefields.

Concerning the problem of Laos and Kampuchea, China's betrayal is also plainly obvious. Many students of history have noted that //In Geneva, China was not very eager to demand that the Kampuchean and Lao revolutionary movements be allowed to send their delegations to the conference."// Worse still, in the 27 May session, the Chinese head delegate expressed his opinion that //the cases of Laos and Kampuchea are dissimilar to that of Vietnam."// That same afternoon, Chinese delegate Wang Pingnan even told the French delegates that //with regard to the problem of Laos and Kampuchea, the position of the Chinese delegation is akin to that of the French delegation."//

//On 16 June, the Chinese head delegate went to the residence of the British delegation and told Eden that he thought Vietnam could be persuaded to withdraw its forces from Laos and Kampuchea. This showed that China had made a very long step toward acceding to the demand by the Kampucheans, the Lao, the British and the French. Moreover, Zhou Enlai said he was prepared to recognize the legality of the governments of the Kingdoms of Laos and Kampuchea as soon as he was assured that no U.S. military base would be set up in these two countries.//

The author repeatedly exclaimed: //Obviously, the positions of China and Vietnam were not identical."// In the face of China's betrayal of the Lao and Kampuchean revolutions, //the Vietnamese head delegate persistently held on to his firm position. He declared: //The logic of facts demands the recognition of the liberation movements in these two countries and refutes the ill-intentioned statements of those who want to portray these movements as products of foreign influence. The DRV delegation greets with sympathy and respect these liberation movements, which are the products of savage and cruel oppression, which are deeply rooted in the people and which can in no way be artificially created by the outside world." These words were so mordant that they made people wonder as to whom they were directed against under these circumstances.// Today we can consider this statement as nothing less than a slap administered by the genuine revolutionaries to the face of the abject traitors.

#### /The Black Thread Which Runs Through Chinese Diplomacy/

Francois Joyaux held that China's present policy toward Vietnam is a continuation of the policy pursued by ancient Chinese dynasties toward its southern neighbors. //This Indochina policy is the continuation of the policy embraced by the ancient imperial dynasties. One of the most striking features of this policy is the continuation of the policy embraced by the ancient imperial dynasties. One of the most striking features of this policy is China's constant desire to maintain peace south of its border on the basis of a balance resulting from the rivalry among various countries in the region. This is the Pax Sinica,

which China hopes to achieve by promoting an ineffectual association of opposing forces, a policy rather akin to the ancient divide-and-rule policy in its most rudimentary form."// The author accurately remarked that // "China's attitude toward the Viet Minh (meaning the Vietnamese revolution) was that of a power which would resolutely support its ally as long as the latter's objectives were compatible with the balance it was seeking, but which also knew how to impose some restraints in case of the opposite."//

It was this sought-after general balance in Indochina and China's divide-and-rule policy and its desire to prevent Vietnam from becoming a strong force which later on prompted the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists to ally with the brutal Khmer Rouge reactionaries to sabotage the Kampuchean revolution, to oppose the Vietnamese and Lao revolutions, and to point a sharp dagger at the western flank of Vietnam in order to weaken it and eventually to force it to its knees. This cruel traditional policy, however, has gone bankrupt in the face of the strong solidarity of the three Indochinese countries.

After signing the Geneva agreement, the Chinese leaders continued to pursue their consistent policy toward Vietnam. They did not demand in the least the calling of general elections which the agreement clearly said should have been held in July 1956. They sought to prevent Vietnam from stepping up its armed struggle in South Vietnam with insidious words of advice: Wait for favorable opportunities, go for protracted underground activities, mount guerrilla attacks, refrain from drastic action so as not to provoke direct U.S. intervention....

Then, in early 1979, the ugly reactionary and traitorous faces of the Chinese leaders were fully exposed when they sent 600,000 soldiers to invade Vietnam's northern provinces. The overt, bloody act of aggression committed by Beijing in early 1979 was the consistent development of its policy toward Vietnam and the rest of Indochina which began with its betrayal in Geneva in 1954. The black thread which has run through this policy over the past decades has been the hegemonist and expansionist nature of the Beijing leaders, who have run counter to proletarian internationalism, to the Chinese people's interests, and to the three revolutionary currents of our time.

Clearly understanding the reactionary character of the Beijing leadership's line and policy is an extremely important question for us Vietnamese revolutionaries; it also is essential to revolutionaries in the rest of the world.

It should be remembered that as early as 28 years ago the comrade members of our delegation had already sensed something odd and unusual in some policies and attitudes of the Chinese side. On one occasion the Vietnamese head delegate became angry and caustically criticized the Chinese delegation's erroneous views concerning the situation in Laos and Kampuchea. Historian Francois Joyaux noted: //The Vietnamese head delegate reacted strongly when China placed its national interests above those of the Indochinese revolutionaries.//

In the evening of 22 July 1954, immediately after the closing of the Geneva Conference, the Chinese head delegate invited our delegation to a dinner party. Our delegates were aghast when they saw that the delegations of the Lao, Kampuchean and Saigon puppet administrations were also present. Our delegates

were extremely angry when the Chinese head delegate proposed a toast to the health of country-selling King Bao Dai! While addressing his guests, the Chinese head delegate even showed his face as a vile and shameless renegade when he invited the representatives of the Saigon puppet administration to visit the temples in Beijing! Francois Joyaux clearly recorded: // "Then, the Vietnamese head delegate was startled to hear the Chinese premier's unexpected invitation to the (puppet) South Vietnamese administration to set up a representation in Beijing." // The author remarked: // "Thus, only 24 hours after the agreements were signed, Zhou Enlai was already thinking about organizing a new Indochina in which both North and South Vietnam would participate as equal partners, in defiance of all ideological problems." //

However, after the 1954 Geneva Conference, the situation in Vietnam and the rest of Indochina had developed totally contrary to the wishes of the Chinese leadership. This was because we, Vietnamese revolutionaries, especially the leaders of the Vietnamese revolution, understood ever more profoundly that we must resolve all problems of the Vietnamese revolution by sticking to our own line and policies, by relying on Vietnam's intellect and willpower, on our intelligence and creativity, and not by heeding the harmful and odious suggestions and "words of advice" of the Chinese leadership. It was by exercising its skillful leadership that the VCP led the Vietnamese nation to its total victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors, thereby achieving national reunification on the basis of scientific socialism and making an outstanding contribution to creating the firm bloc of solidarity of the three revolutionary Indochinese countries in the new era.

Clearly understanding the sinister nature shown by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists as early as 28 years ago is to understand profoundly their nature at this juncture, to resolutely bankrupt their multifaceted war of sabotage, and to ceaselessly lead the Vietnamese revolution to new victories.

The book //China and the Settlement of the First Indochina War// by French historian Francois Joyaux represents a valuable contribution to promoting such an understanding. In this book of 600-odd pages containing a wealth of documents, including many original, precious and never-before-published papers, the betrayal committed by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists exactly 28 years ago is clearly and scientifically proved by so many manifest, undeniable and irrefutable pieces of evidence.

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## THE MALVINAS INCIDENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 7, Jul 82 pp 68-70

[Article by Vu Hien]

[Text] The decisive military clash between the British imperialists and Argentina in the frozen archipelago in the southwestern Atlantic is considered to have concluded. With the support of the United States, 74 days after Argentina sent troops to take back the islands that were seized by Great Britain for use as a colony, Great Britain has reoccupied the islands through the use of military force.

Why did this war occur, what are its consequences and what have the participants in this war lost?

The Malvinas Archipelago, which consists of 200 islands and measures a total of 11,718 square kilometers, lies 869 kilometers from the southern shore of Argentina and 680 kilometers from the southern most point of South America. In 1831, a band of pirates of British nationality attacked a group of Argentine soldiers occupying the islands so that they British imperialists could officially occupy these islands and make them a colony. Great Britain illegally occupied these islands for 150 years and negotiations between Argentina and Great Britain over sovereignty over the islands lasted for 17 years but were never successful. The weapon of criticism was replaced by criticism by weapons when, at dawn on the morning of 2 April, 1982, Argentina launched the operation to retake the Malvinas, expelled the plenipotentiary there and raised the green and white flag of Argentina in the capital of the archipelago. When it received this news, the British government decided to use force to retake the islands. More than two-thirds of the British naval forces and many nuclear submarines, modern aircraft carriers with Harrier jump jets and even passenger liners were mobilized to transport troops to the Malvinas.

Did the British imperialists employ an expeditionary army with tremendous means of war and cross 12,870 kilometers of ocean to, in the words of Mrs. Thatcher, protect the right of self-determination of the 1,800 persons living in the Malvinas at a time when, as everyone knows, more than 3 million persons within

Great Britain are living miserable lives because they do not have jobs and tens of millions of other persons must struggle with poverty as a result of economic stagnation and inflation? The key issues continue to be the innate policy of colonialist aggression and, along with it, the pragmatic ambitions to which the British imperialists stubbornly cling. The Malvinas are a lucrative colony that the old British lions stole, consequently, they must retain their control over the islands. The islands have more than 600,000 sheep, nearly 10,000 valuable dairy cattle and petroleum reserves of as much as 2 billion tons, which the British government planned to explore and develop. And, above everything else, in view of their geographic position of strategic significance in the southern Atlantic, the Malvinas are a major fascination to the imperialist and colonialist warmongerers. If the archipelago were turned into a military base, it could be used to control routes to the South Pole, the entire southern Atlantic and Africa as well as the routes linking the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans.

In throwing itself into this war, Great Britain took the conceited attitude of a big country and arrogantly employed the "gunboat" diplomacy of bygone times, thinking that it could swallow up the opposition by mobilizing such a huge war machine. However, the time when "the sun never sets on the British empire" and the time when imperialist Britain did as it pleased in the colonies has long since past. History turned a page and passed sentence on imperialist colonialism long ago and one nation after another in the world has carried out this sentence through extraordinary effort in order to remove from themselves the suckers of the imperialist colonialist leeches. The offensive strength of the times opened the horizon of freedom and independence to the oppressed nations and is abolishing the final bases of colonialism. This fact explains why London, as it became more deeply involved in this war, also became more politically isolated and the military adventures of the British authorities were opposed ever more strongly in the world and even within Great Britain. It also explains why an "ordinary" country such as Argentina dared to contend with the British lion with its "nuclear teeth" and why the British imperialists had to pay a very high price to reoccupy the islands. In a favorable international and regional situation, the action taken by Argentina to take back the islands from those who illegally occupied them reflected the will for independence of the country and was supported by the various strata of the people. However, as the war became increasingly fierce and tense, the government of the generals in Argentina increasingly showed itself to be confused and powerless and failed to meet the requirements of the various strata of the people at home. Due to its dictatorial nature, the government of Argentina did not seize upon and highly develop the patriotic movement of all the people and did not win the widespread support of the people of the world, especially the people of Latin America; therefore, it was unable to continue to intensify the fight to protect sovereignty over the islands but, instead, followed the course of negotiations and yielded to the pressure of the imperialists. The factors of defeat gradually became evident and surrender was unavoidable.

The guns are silent now but the high winds and high waves continue in the islands. The Malvinas war assumed another form once the islands were once again in the hands of the British colonialist aggressors. The wild beast had sprung upon the

bait but now bears many wounds. The billions of dollars that were spent on the war have increased the burden of inflation and recession upon the ill economy of Great Britain. In conjunction with economic weakness, there is increased frustration over regulations, politics and the decline of prestige in the world and, finally, there is the crisis of confidence on the part of the masses in the Thatcher conservative government. These are the consequences of Great Britain's military adventure. Meanwhile, the will of the people of Argentina concerning their sovereignty over the Malvinas is becoming stronger than ever before. To be sure, this is a major obstacle to the reimposition of the colonialist administration in the Malvinas and the effort to turn the islands into a military base. The present situation also forces Great Britain to deal with the United States because of demands to share the "spoils" with those who are in the same "bloodline" at a time when the other countries in the European Common Market want to immediately re-establish trade relations with Argentina.

The United States supported Great Britain in retaking the islands but the United States, itself, also suffered at least three defeats in the Malvinas crisis. First, Uncle "police chief" Sam did not gain much of anything even though he immediately flew to the shores of this country when the waters around the islands were muddied by the conflict; the United States' plan to bring about a settlement between the two parties in the Malvinas was not accepted. Secondly, the United States was unable to settle the internal antagonisms within the camp of its allies; talks by means of bombs and shells between the two parties was something that the United States never wanted when one of the parties was the most trusted ally of the United States within NATO and the other party was a trusted ally within the region. However, because of "strategic interests," the United States had to take the side of Great Britain, consequently, it exacerbated the internal antagonisms within the capitalist camp, especially the antagonism between the United States-Great Britain and the government of Argentina and a number of capitalist governments supporting Argentina. The third and the main defeat was that the United States became an enemy exposed as pointing missiles toward the nations of Latin America; the consequences of this action in this region of vital importance to America are incalculable.

The military conflict in the Malvinas has ended but the dispute over sovereignty over the islands between Great Britain and Argentina has not. The aspiration of the people of Argentina has not been realized. Together with the other nations of Latin America, the people of Argentina have exposed the face of the U.S.-British imperialist aggressors and the dictatorial, compromising nature of the recently toppled Galtieri regime. The will for national independence and the democratic consciousness of the people of Argentina will surely be heightened and form a strength that smashes every obstacle in order to achieve their sovereignty and territorial integrity.

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